The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1890.

The Week.

THE present state of the Silver Bill at Washington, if there is any such thing, is certainly chaotic. Certain speculators in Wall Street continue to bet on the early passage of a bill, without knowing what it is to be. They assume that there is to be inflation, more or less, and that inflation means higher prices for stocks. We advise them not to be too sure of either of these propositions. It is by no means certain that any bill will pass. It is not certain that a bill increasing the coinage would have the anticipated effect on stocks. The Republican Senators have not come to agreement among themselves, although they have come to a disagreement with the House. Both factions have to reckon with the Executive. The chances of "making a mess of it" are so great that very likely nothing will be done. The Republican party will look out for itself first. It will take no step without knowing what the consequences are to be; and since even the wisest can with difficulty tell what they may be, the progress of any bill will be very slow.

Senator Platt of Connecticut has written a letter to the Hartford *Post* on the subject of silver legislation, which calls for attention on more than one point. In the first place, the Senator intimates that the Republican party is between the devil and the deep sea on this question, thus:

> "In the first place, unless we come to an agreement with the 'silver-men,' a free-coinage bill will be passed by both houses by a decided majority. As near as we can ascertain, it would have 12 to 15 majority in the Senate. The Democrats will propose it, and vote for it with few exceptions, while most of our Western Republican Senators will do the same. It would probably be vetoed by the President. The tendency of such action would be to break up the Republican party, and, worse than that, to array the West and Southwest against the East. We cannot afford that split if it can be avoided."

This is an embarrassing situation, certainly, for those who want to hold the party together, but do not know exactly how to do it. Inasmuch as the outcome of any policy that may be adopted is very dubious, we would suggest the policy of voting for whatever one thinks to be *right* and taking the consequences. If it were perfectly clear that voting for what one thinks to be wrong would bring the party into a safe harbor, then there might be something to say on that side; but since it is not clear, but on the contrary very murky and obscure, one ought to prefer the chances which lie on the side of sound principles of finance. But Senator Platt cannot make up his mind what are sound principles. "All writers on political economy," he says, "admit that if the volume of money is not increased somewhat in proportion to the increase of population and of business activity, and of the creation of new money centres, the real effect is contraction, with a depreciation of value." We have never read anything of this kind in any work on political economy, and we are sure that Senator Platt would find nobody to support such an idea if he were to interrogate successively all the professors of that science in the colleges of Connecticut. These writers and professors "admit" that the volume of money *will increase* in proportion to the need of it, whether that need arise from increase of population or of business activity, or from "the creation of new money centres," whatever that may mean.

Since we began the process of buying silver bullion and coining it on Government account—a scheme of finance utterly unknown in any other part of the world or in our own previous history—a great many people have begun to think that there is no such thing as *gold*, or that if there is any such thing floating about the world, *we* never can get any of it; whereas, we are just the nation that can most easily get it, because we have the most available property to buy it with. Senator Platt seems to think that the only way to obtain money is to "issue" it. "The problem," he says, a little further on, "is to get a moderate but steady issue of money." By no means, dear sir. The gold-miners are "issuing" money enough for all of our purposes. They take it or send it to the mints, and when it is coined they can get gold certificates for it if they don't like to carry the metal around. It costs the public just as much to get silver certificates as it does to get gold certificates. There is not a pin to choose between them on the score of expense to the holder of the certificates. Therefore we beg that when the Senator writes again to tell how he proposes to extricate the Republican party from its situation between the devil and the deep sea, he will at least allow that there is such a thing as gold, and that it moves of its own accord to people who want it and are able to pay for it, and that it makes a very fair sort of money.

The Service Pension Bill passed by the House last week seems likely to take its final shape in a conference committee. It will be remembered that the Senate originally passed a Dependent Pension Bill, which it was estimated would call for an extra outlay of $88,000,000. The House substituted the Morrill bill, which gives a pension to every soldier who served ninety days upon his reaching the age of sixty, and to any soldier under sixty who is disabled from any cause. The Senate has declined to concur in the substitute, and has referred the matter to a conference committee. It will be contrary to all precedents if this committee does not prove favorable to the claim agents. Indeed, the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* says that it is the expectation of Senator Davis, Chairman of the Pension Committee in the upper branch, that the measure, when it comes out of the conference committee, will include a dependent clause, "*and will involve a somewhat larger expenditure than the Morrill Service Bill*"—which was about $50,000,000 a year.

Republican organs are beginning to perceive that the policy to which their party is committed in Congress means nothing less than a deficit. The Philadelphia *Press*, for example, has an article entitled "A Little Plain Arithmetic," which points out that the enactment of the Pension Bill which was passed by the House on April 30 will use up the surplus over and above the sinking fund, and that the McKinley Tariff Bill, with its free-sugar clause, will leave nothing for the sinking fund. The Silver Bill which has been agreed upon by the caucus will take $10,000,000, with loss on coinage, and the public improvements contemplated will call for $12,000,000 more than the estimates, while public buildings and other additions to the estimates stand for another $10,000,000. "This," says the *Press*, "is a deficit of $72,000,000, if Congress carries out its present plans and the payment of pensions and the debt both go on. If the payment of the debt is stopped, the reduction of the revenue will take the rest; and the Silver Bill, and public works, buildings, and so on, will still leave a deficit of over $30,000,000." Our Philadelphia contemporary also calls attention to the interesting fact that a deficit for the fiscal year 1891 will be reported on the eve of the next Presidential election, and that "it will call for explanation of a kind which no party in this country has had to make since 1860, when the Democrats had to report a deficit."

It is useless to ascribe the defeat of the Copyright Bill on Friday to mismanagement. Its friends doubtless did handle the procedure very clumsily, but mismanagement could not have killed the bill had there been in the House a stronger sentiment of honesty. The trouble is, that those who are indifferent to the ethical aspect of the case are so numerous that they keep the open friends of dishonesty, the people who like a thing the better because the product of unpunishable theft, constantly on the edge of victory. What happened on Friday is no less disheartening for the friends of good government than for the friends of the bill itself. All we can say to the latter now is not to be discouraged, but to keep up the fight. "If hopes are dupes, fears may be liars." Thieving habits of eighty years are not to be overcome in one year, or may be in ten. In no country in the world should the champion of a good cause be less disheartened by delay than in this, for in none has persistence worked such wonders.

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The proposal to have Congress pass a law to prevent gerrymandering in the States would be humorous if the matter were not so serious. The scheme is based upon the claim that partisanship governs the division of States into Congressional districts, which is true; but the preposterous feature is the further claim that partisanship will be avoided by having Congress interfere, as though a Senate in which "Bill" Chandlers are leading spirits, and a House which chooses a Thomas B. Reed as Speaker, were free from partisan bias! We are glad to see that, although the other Republican members of the Committee reporting the bill make an alleged outrage by the Democrats in districting Missouri one of their arguments for the proposed change, Mr. Frank of Missouri, himself a Republican, dissents from their action, saying with entire truth that the bill is intended to cover a political exigency, for the purpose of perpetuating a party in power, and insisting that no constitutional provision ought to be brought into requisition at any time for such a purpose, and certainly not if the power had never before been exercised for the general weal. This is obviously the non-partisan view of the proposition, and it is a sufficient commentary upon the pretence that the change would abolish the partisanship now complained of in the States that only one Republican member of the Committee took this view.

Our esteemed contemporary the *Congressional Record* contains occasionally some apparently trivial statement, which upon examination proves to possess no little importance. Such a statement appeared the other day in the paragraph, on page 4030, which reports the receipt of a message from the President announcing that "the following bills were presented to the President April 14, 1890, and, not having been returned by him to the House of Representatives, in which they originated, within the ten days prescribed by the Constitution, they have become laws without his approval: An act (H. R. 1043) granting a pension to Theresa Herbst, and an act (H. R. 4840) to increase the pension of William Boone." William Boone was an Illinois volunteer, who enlisted in August, 1862, was taken prisoner in November following, and at once paroled, and, while at home on parole and engaged in celebrating the Fourth of July, 1863, at Aurora, Ill., was terribly injured by the discharge of a cannon. Theresa Herbst is a name no better known to fame than that of William Boone; but the act granting her a pension is a notable one, because it establishes for the first time the principle that the Federal Government may reward a man who served in the Confederate Army. John Herbst enlisted in Company G, One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment, New York Volunteers, August 26, 1862, was captured August 19, 1864, soon after joined the Confederate forces, and, after nine or ten months' service in that army, was recaptured by Union troops while in arms against the United States Government. Having taken the oath of allegiance and explained that he deserted to the enemy in order to escape the hardships of prison life, he was released and mustered out of the service October 11, 1865, and died three years later. He had never applied for a pension, but years afterwards an application was put in for a pension to his widow, on the ground that when discharged from the army he was suffering from rheumatism and dropsy.

The noteworthy feature of the Herbst and Boone cases is the fact that similar bills were passed by Congress during the last Administration, and in each case defeated by the veto of President Cleveland. In the Boone case, Mr. Cleveland pointed out that there was no relation whatever between the man's military service and the Fourth of July casualty, and no more reason why he should receive a pension because of that casualty than any companion who chanced to be injured at the same time; and he quoted from a letter written by the soldier, in which he said: "I never thought of trying getting a pension until my old comrades urged me to do so." In the Herbst case Mr. Cleveland presented a straightforward statement of the facts, and then refused his signature on this ground: "The greatest possible sympathy and consideration are due to those who bravely fought, and, being captured, as bravely languished in rebel prisons; but I will take no part in putting a name upon our pension-roll which represents a Union soldier found fighting against the cause he swore he would uphold, nor should it be for a moment admitted that such desertion and treachery are excused when it avoids the rigors of honorable capture and confinement. It would have been a sad condition of things if every captured Union soldier had deemed himself justified in fighting against his Government rather than to undergo the privations of capture." Contrast Cleveland's course with Harrison's. The former saved the nation from the disgrace of rewarding faithlessness; the latter, equally cognizant of the facts, shirks the responsibility of approving such action, while lacking the courage to interpose his veto, and thus allows bills of this kind to become laws.

Gov. Hill, as was expected, filed a "memorandum" on Friday showing that he is a true friend, and almost the only friend of ballot-reform now in public life in this State, and that the public is really indebted to him for all that is good in the bill that has just been passed; that many changes have taken place in the attitude of other people towards this measure, but that he has from the first been steadfast and true. All this is in the nature of light comedy, however, and will contribute much to popular amusement on the Saturday half-holiday. What we should like to see from his pen would be a really serious work on the subject with which he is best acquainted, namely, "Holes." A monograph from him, entitled 'Hill on Holes,' or 'The Holes I Have Been In,' or 'Recollections of Holes by Dave Hill,' would be very widely read, and be a permanent and valuable contribution to political literature.

The issue by a United States judge of a writ of habeas corpus for Kemmler, the convict now awaiting execution in Auburn prison, on the ground that there is a question under the Federal Constitution whether execution by electricity may not be a "cruel and unusual punishment," is one of the oddest judicial incidents of recent times. The question has been passed on, after full argument, by the Court of Appeals of this State. Neither Kemmler nor any one employed or authorized by him, except *ex post facto*, has raised the point. The lawyer who obtained the writ appears to have been an interloper, who did not make known his purpose to Kemmler until after the writ had been obtained. In fact, although he veils his motives in great secrecy, he seems to be really acting neither for the convict nor for the United States Constitution, but in order to satisfy his own mind as to the legality of the use of the electric fluid for penal purposes. We suppose the writ of habeas corpus cannot be refused; but as the return is fixed for June 10, and an appeal may be taken should the decision be adverse to Kemmler, the execution may be considered indefinitely postponed. The arguments of the lawyer who has taken up the case would, if sound, give the Federal courts complete supervision of the penal legislation of every State in the Union, not only as regards manner, but as regards time and other conditions, and, in fact, would give every criminal the chance of two trials before the execution of his sentence.

We presume that the people of New York without a single exception were amazed last week to learn that a bill abolishing capital punishment had passed the Assembly without debate, receiving seventy-four votes, or nine more than a majority of the whole number of members elected. This is a measure of such far-reaching character, so fraught with the interests of society for weal or woe, that whenever, among American commonwealths or among civilized nations, it has been adopted or seriously considered, it has been studied, debated, and sifted in every possible way for years before being finally voted on in the legislative body. To rush such a measure through without any previous discussion in the press, or the pulpit, or on the stump, without any investigation by committees, or any debate in the Legislature itself, is what we might look for in an assemblage of drunken thieves, but hardly in any deliberative body on the face of the earth. The newspaper representatives at Albany are nearly unanimous in charging that the bill has been put through by bribery, and that the money to pay for the votes comes from a moneyed corporation that is interested in preventing the Electrical-Execution Law, passed last year, from going into effect. Certainly something else than public interests must have been the motive power urg-

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ing the Legislature to stultify itself in this way. A year ago it passed the Electrical-Execution Law; now it passes another law to prevent that one from going into effect.

The Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst preached a strong sermon Sunday morning upon the spectacle which this city, "with hundreds of churches and 100,000 communicants," presents to-day as it stands before the world with "all its municipal life dominated by a band of felons, murderers, bribe-takers, gamblers, dive-keepers, and rumsellers, whose only title to candidacy was their deviltry, and their only apology for being elected the apathy of the saints and the subserviency of respectable men to political bossism." This is simply a truthful statement of the case, but the remedy which Dr. Parkhurst suggests for it does not go far enough. He says: "It is as much the duty of a New York Christian to go to the polls on election day as for him to go to the Lord's table on communion day." Mere going to the polls will not answer unless the intent and purpose of the Christian when he gets there be to vote in strict accordance with the needs of the city, without reference to any other consideration whatever. His going will do more harm than good if, when he gets there, he is thinking of how his vote will affect the tariff, or the election of a President or Governor, or some other question not in the remotest degree connected with the city's welfare. If he votes in accordance with any party demands of this kind, he is far more guilty of a neglect of Christian duty than if he had not gone at all—is, in fact, guilty of a breach of trust both as a Christian and a citizen. How did the present "band of felons, murderers, bribe-takers, gamblers, dive-keepers, and rumsellers" get into power? Simply because thousands of Christians went to the polls and voted for Col. Erhardt because his candidacy was a party necessity for a national victory on the tariff, knowing all the time that the sole effect of his candidacy, so far as the city was concerned, would be the election of Grant. Until Christian citizens can take a higher view of their duty as voters than this, it will be much better for the city if they do not vote at all, for their going to the polls is as sure an aid to our present government by criminals as the direct voting of the Tammany gang.

What every Christian and other intelligent citizen should be thinking of when he goes to the polls, is the effect of his vote upon the city and its inhabitants: how it will affect the poor above all others, for they are in the end the worst sufferers from misrule; how it will affect the schools, the paving and care of the streets, the sewers, the docks, the courts, everything that goes to make the city a community regulated by civilized men rather than by a band of thieving barbarians. No citizen can solve this problem wisely if he is thinking all the time of the tariff or the solid South, and of how his vote will affect those questions. He must ask himself: "How will my vote affect the city? Will it help to let the Tammany gang in or will it help to keep it out?" No honest, conscientious voter could have asked himself that question in November, 1888, when Hewitt, Grant, and Erhardt were running for the Mayoralty, and voted for any one save Hewitt; yet 73,037 Republicans, including thousands of Christians, voted for Erhardt because they thought the tariff and Harrison of more importance than the interests of the city. It is useless to denounce Tammany, and to hope to rid the city of its iniquitous rule, so long as Christians perform their duty as citizens in this way. They, and not Tammany, are the culprits, and against them the pulpit should thunder its loudest anathemas.

The exceeding quiet which prevailed in all the great capitals on May Day, and the poverty of the processions, showed what a tremendous uproar is often raised in this world by a very small number of persons. Of course, the military and police preparations may have had much to do with the peaceableness which prevailed, but they cannot have diminished in any marked degree the numbers of those who took part in the public demonstrations. In London 2,000 was the largest muster, in Berlin 20,000 out of 300,000 workmen; and in Vienna there was nothing but a holiday with many meetings which passed resolutions in favor of an eight-hours' working day. In Paris the display was quite insignificant—for Paris—and in New York the labor display passed almost unnoticed. This is all a very good illustration of the folly of the tremors which every now and then run through society about communism, socialism, and anarchism. The number of people who are ready to go beyond speechification in promoting anything that can be called a radical change in the present social organization, is really too trifling for serious consideration. If they were to exert themselves to the utmost, they could not succeed in carrying out their views beyond the creation here and there of a few easily suppressed riots. If this were borne in mind, how much alarmist literature on the labor question we should be saved. Social organizations are based on human nature, and grow along the lines traced out by human nature, and human nature will never agree to pass its life in a huge boarding-house with a lot of ranting orators regulating the diet and hours of sleep of the inmates.

The appearances are now that the Balfour Irish Land Bill will be passed, in spite of the very severe criticism it is receiving from all parties. The *Economist* has had an attack on it of the most destructive character from the point of view of the English financial world, but the trouble is that there is no union among its opponents, a point on which Mr. Balfour dwelt gleefully in his recent speech. The Irish attack it because they have not been consulted about it, but this position is weakened by their also opposing it as a favor to the landlords—something which the landlords deny. If they had rested simply on their right to be consulted about it, they would have produced more effect. Their position is weakened, too, by the fact that the tenants have shown no disinclination to profit by the money already advanced under the Ashbourne Act, over $25,000,000. It is difficult to see why as a matter of business the Irish should refuse to accept the money, as long as the British Treasury is willing to advance it. It is not for them to point out the danger that it will never be repaid, or repaid with difficulty. This is an objection for the British taxpayer to make. The defence, too, has been weakened by Parnell's offering some amendments to the bill without consulting his own side, which the Ministry seem willing to adopt. Where the ministerial calculations will probably fail is in overestimating the effect on the home-rule agitation. There is not the smallest prospect that the Irish will cease in our time to send eighty-six Home-Rulers to the House of Commons, and as long as they do, the home-rule question will remain in the forefront of British politics.

Mr. Depew's announcement, two years ago, of the adoption of the policy of protection by Holland, finds a show of confirmation, though a little late, in recent occurrences in the Netherlands Parliament. A Catholic Deputy, M. Bahlmann, introduced a bill for the levying of a protective tax on cereals. He supported his proposal with the usual protectionist arguments: The farmers were being ruined by foreign competition. A tax for their benefit was to make them rich, and this, in accordance with the mysterious way in which protection moves its wonders to perform, without increasing the price of bread. Almost all the Catholic Deputies favored the measure, as did also some others. But the Government opposed the whole thing, taking the position that the prosperity of Holland depended absolutely on commerce and navigation. The country could not be sufficient for itself, and only under a system of free trade could there be that sharing in the world's trade which was so essential. Holland was almost the first of the European nations to break away from the policy of protection, and the Administration was sure that the country had no desire to return to that folly. The subject was revived afterwards, when the Ministry was interpellated as to the possible effect of the Berlin Labor Conference on the customs policy of the governments participating in it. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Hartsen, took occasion to reassert the determination of the Ministry to persist in the settled fiscal policy of the nation, and pointed out that such subjects had been expressly reserved from discussion at Berlin, so that there need be no fear of an attack on the economic principles of the Netherlands. Mr. Depew has thus not even got an *ex-post-facto* justification.

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NEW YORK'S BALLOT-REFORM LAW.

GOVERNOR HILL has approved the Saxton Ballot Bill, which finally passed both houses of the Legislature without opposition. While not so perfect a measure of reform as the advocates of the Australian system hoped to secure, it will bring about improvements in our election methods which will be little less than revolutionary in their power for good. Not one of the vital principles of the system has been abandoned in the compromise which has resulted in the passage of the law, the only changes being in the nature of modifications of some of the methods by which the system is to be operated. Briefly summed up, the law insures to the voters of this State in all future elections (for the law goes into effect on July 1, 1890) a complete system of secret voting with exclusive official ballots, maintained at the public expense, operated by sworn public officials, and removed entirely from the control and interference of political organizations.

The greatest gain of all is the exclusive official ballot or ballots. Under the Australian plan as embodied in the Massachusetts and nearly all other American ballot laws thus far enacted, the names of candidates are placed upon one large blanket ballot, in some instances in alphabetical order, in others in party groups. To meet one of Gov. Hill's objections, the New York law splits the blanket ballot into as many separate ballots as there are parties or factions making nominations, giving to each a ballot, yet without its party name at the top or anything to indicate the politics of its candidates. These separate ballots, together with a blank ballot containing nothing except the names of the offices to be filled at the election, are handed to the voter when he enters the polling-place. Upon each is a coupon, or counterfoil, upon which the ballot clerk puts his official endorsement and the number of the voter, entering the corresponding number opposite the name of the voter on the tally-list. The voter must take all his ballots into a compartment and there prepare one of them for voting. He can paste on one or as many names as he pleases; he can even paste an entire new ticket over the face of the blank or any other one of the ballots; or can write an entire new ballot in the blanks; but he can deposit in the ballot-box only one of the set received, and must fold the others in the same way as if he were going to vote them, that is, with their official endorsements visible for identification, and deposit them, after their coupons have been removed, in a locked box provided for the purpose. When the voter offers the remaining ballot to the clerk in charge of the ballot-box, the latter must tear off the coupon before depositing the ballot, thus removing all chance of identification of ballots in the counting.

Let us consider what is gained by this method of voting. In the first place, there is absolute secrecy. No one is allowed to do any electioneering within 150 feet of a polling-place, and no one is allowed to accompany a voter into a compartment save in cases in which the voter is physically incapacitated to mark his ballot. The result will be, that from the time a voter enters a polling-place till he has discharged his duty, he will be absolutely secluded from espionage or intimidation of any kind. His boss, or employer, or briber may give him a "paster," but can get no proof that he has used it in voting. The same uncertainty will exist in regard to the regular party tickets. Every voter will have a set, but no one can obtain proof as to which one has been voted. As for the independent voter, and the "scratcher" of every sort, he has all the ballots before him in compact form, and can make up his ballot to suit himself with far more ease than he could under the old system.

But the greatest gain for the independent voter is the change in the system of nominations and of ballot distribution. Heretofore it has been practically impossible for an independent movement of any kind to get its ballots distributed at the polls. Hereafter such movements are on equal terms with the most powerful party organizations. If 1,000 voters agree in desiring to have a candidate for Governor or an entire State ticket put in the field, they have only to send in petitions to that effect to have the name or names of their candidates printed on all the ballots and handed to every voter at the polls. Fifty voters, and less according to the size of the locality, can have the name of any candidate they agree in favoring placed upon the ballots for any except a State office or Brooklyn and New York city offices. In this city and Brooklyn 300 voters can have the name of a candidate for Mayor or any other city or county officer put on the ballots and distributed in any polling-place; and 100 voters will be sufficient to have the same results accomplished for member of the Legislature or other district officer. This is an incalculable gain. It puts it in the power of the respectable voters of the city to confront the political machines with a complete Citizens' ticket, whenever the former fail to make satisfactory nominations, and to get that ticket honestly distributed at the polls, a thing which under the old system was, of course, impossible. The expense of printing and distributing ballots for any movement in opposition to the regular political organizations in this city has heretofore been anywhere from $60,000 to $100,000, with slight chances for fair distribution even then, as the hired workers almost invariably betrayed their trust to the machines.

All excuse for "assessments" upon candidates is taken away by the law, for all expense of elections is henceforth to be borne by the State. This is a blow at Tammany's most abundant source of income, for it has been the custom of that organization to levy a grand total of assessments upon candidates which was from three to five times the amount actually disbursed in electing them. It is pretty well known that the late John Kelly laid the foundation for his handsome fortune with the surplus of these assessment funds. Whether Tammany will continue the practice of selling its nominations to the highest bidder in this way, is doubtful. It will have great difficulty in doing so safely if the Governor's amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act passes the Assembly as it has passed the Senate. That requires a complete itemized statement from all campaign committees, as well as candidates and their agents, of every dollar received and expended, and if it becomes law, Tammany can rest assured that there will be efforts made to have it strictly enforced.

"THE PARTING OF THE WAYS."

ARE they who discussed the Worsted Bill in the House at Washington on Tuesday last quite sure that they went to the bottom of the question presented by the bill?

Congress cannot give an interpretation of the Tariff Law of 1883 which the judicial power is bound to obey as statute-law in a case now pending in the law courts between a tax-gatherer and a tax-payer. If Congress were in 1890 to endeavor to say what Congress intended in 1883, that would be an endeavor to exercise judicial power. Therefore Congress can do nothing that will, in pending cases, constrain the law-courts in deciding what Congress meant by the tariff law of 1883. What Mr. McKinley or Mr. Carlisle may think Congress intended in 1883 is quite irrelevant and inconsequential. Not a member of the present Congress would be heard if called as a witness to testify in court what Congress intended in 1883 by "woollen" or by "worsted." Congress can pass a declaratory law binding in the future—only in the future—but that would be prescribing a new rate on "*worsted* cloth." It is misleading and confusing persiflage for any Congressman to declare now what Congress meant seven years ago when it used the fifty-years-old phrase, "manufactures of worsted." That meaning is for the courts, not Congress, to discover.

A majority of the Ways and Means Committee wishes and intends, in 1890, to exclude importations by hook or by crook, by the taxing power or the commercial power—*fas aut nefas*—but Congress had not come to that decision in 1883. The intentions of 1890 cannot be injected into the laws of 1883. And yet the contention of President Harrison—echoed by the majority of the Republican Ways and Means—that we should endeavor in this country to prevent foreign trade, excepting so far as it may be found necessary to import articles which our country cannot possibly be made to produce, is not novel. We have heard little of it for a dozen years, because Democrats have controlled the House and the contention could not be embodied in legislation; but we hear of it now because protectionists do now control the Government at Washington.

"Protection" is an imported plant. We took it from England. Protection and a tariff *only* for revenue cannot live together. That is what the leading teachers of protection in this country have always taught. Mr. Carey, in his 'Past, Present, and Future' (p. 472), says: "Tariffs for *revenue* should have no existence. Interferences with trade should be tolerated only as measures of self-protection." Prof. Thompson, in his 'Political Economy' (p. 232), says: "Duties for *revenue* . . . are highly un-

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just." Nearly fifty years ago were printed in the '*Tribune* Almanac' the very contentions set forth in the recent majority report by the Ways and Means Committee, as one can see in the Almanacs for 1842 and 1846. In that for 1842 is a paper by Charles Hudson of Massachusetts, which pursues the line of argument of the report with much greater literary skill. In that for 1846 (p. 12) Horace Greeley condemned the policy which kept European cloth-makers on the European continent and American grain-growers on this continent, as one of "great improvidence and waste." The cloth-growers should be brought hither. Further on he formulated this proposition, which in 1890 is to be put into our statute-book: "Let us encourage and *diversify* home production until everything to which our position is genial shall be produced on our own wide-spread territory and fertile soil." Our Mr. Evarts said not long ago that he should be ready for free trade only "when protection had so far developed all our industries that the United States can sell in competition with all the world, and at the same time be free from the necessity of buying *anything* from all the world." He looked to American primacy in production and trade as an object to be accomplished not by striking off our industrial fetters created by taxes on arriving raw materials, but by closing our ports, isolating our country, compelling ourselves to buy only American products, bounty-feeding our industries by taxes, and only opening our ports whenever we could produce everything and supply ourselves. When that can happen Prof. Thompson intimates (p. 223, where he says) that "it will ordinarily take the life-time of two generations to acclimatize thoroughly a new manufacture, and to bring the native production up to the native demand."

One sees that such a contention cannot be encountered successfully by displaying tables of percentages showing how much we are taxed on articles we consume, for protectionists will reply that, great as the taxes may be, protectionists will increase them till the foreign article is excluded; and if taxes will not do it, we will exclude under the commercial power. We are not seeking revenue, they will say, or to adjust taxes, but to exclude the foreigners' products. If driven to the wall, protectionists may adopt a "tariff for revenue only," like the British tariff, on articles we cannot produce, in order to get revenue, and then put an embargo on foreign articles similar to those which we can produce if we will expend money enough thereon. Protectionists are "fooling and monkeying" when they babble about revenue as the chief object, protection as an incident. They allure Democrats into a *cul de sac* when they lead them to fancy that is the real issue. Protectionists now concede that protection has not protected, but they insist that the failure has been because the country has not been protected sufficiently by taxes on foreign imports. Currency reform and taxation reform have, in a Democratic sense, gone backward if the pending silver demand and the pending protectionist demand shall be embodied in law. Instead of more free raw materials, we are to have their importation less free. The Chinese wall is to be strengthened and built higher. Democrats in Congress cannot prevent it this session, unless there shall be Republican defection. If the pending tariff bill shall be enacted, it cannot by Democratic votes be repealed till 1895 at the earliest.

If the policy of the two McKinley bills is to be our American policy, then of necessity there will be less and less each year of foreign trade, and less and less need of subsidized vessels for transportation. We shall have less and less need of a navy, unless to blockade our own ports, keep out the hated merchandise of the foreigner, and repel his assaults on our Chinese wall. Clearly we have come to "a parting of the ways."

THE SERVICE PENSION BILL.

With only a brief period for discussion, the House of Representatives last week passed a bill which introduces a new principle in the pension system—that of granting a pension of eight dollars a month to any man who served in the army or navy, beginning when he reaches the age of sixty and continuing during the remainder of his life. The bill also allows a similar pension to any soldier under sixty who is disabled, no matter what the cause of such disability, and to the widow of any soldier when she shall reach the age of sixty, or when she shall be without other means of support than her daily labor.

This measure is a substitute for the Dependent Pension Bill recently passed by the Senate, and no doubt is entertained that the upper branch will agree to it and that the President will sign it. It is therefore as good as settled that this vast extension of the pension system will be effected within a very short time. No more important measure will be passed by the Fifty-first Congress than the bill which was rushed through the House on April 30 with only three hours allowed for debate.

Mr. Morrill of Kansas, who stood sponsor for the bill, estimated the number of persons who would be put upon the pension roll under its provisions at 440,000, which would involve an additional annual cost of $39,629,000. This estimate, however, was based upon the age limit of sixty-two years, for which sixty was afterwards substituted, so that Mr. Morrill's own figures would run the yearly bill considerably above $40,000,000. Mr. Grosvenor of Ohio, who also wished to depreciate the importance of the change, said that this bill, added to the Prisoner of War Bill, when the latter was passed, would add 450,000 names to the pension roll, and would make that roll consist of 950,000 names, while the total expenditure for pensions would reach $150,000,000 per annum. All experience indicates that the estimates of its friends will fall far short of the demands actually made upon the Treasury; and judging from such precedents as that afforded by the Arrearage Bill, it is safe to say that the Morrill bill will call for at least $80,000,000 a year.

The passage of this bill practically disposes of the surplus. Secretary Windom's estimate of receipts for the coming fiscal year was $385,000,000, and of expenditures, including the sinking fund, $341,430,477, leaving a surplus of $43,569,522. The estimate of expenditures allowed only $98,587,252 for pensions, instead of the $140,000,000 or $150,000,000 which the advocates of the Service Pension Bill admit will be needed. To carry out other extravagant schemes which are projected, it will be necessary to repeal the sinking fund or to increase taxation. In either case the Secretary of the Treasury will be unable to redeem the $114,000,000 of 4½ per cents which fall due on the 1st of September, 1891.

But the great expense of this pension scheme is the least of its evils. The nation can afford to increase its outgoes by $40,000,000, or even $80,000,000, a year if it is wise to do so. The trouble about the service and dependent-pension policy is that it demoralizes alike the immediate recipients of the bounty and the communities in which they live. A large proportion of the half-million of people who are to be added to the pension roll are persons who have no possible claim to consideration. Some of them were worthless as soldiers during the war; others are now "hard up" simply because they have grown shiftless and dissipated since the war; others are well-to-do, and in no possible need of any increase to their income. The simple fact about the matter is, that any old "bummer" who can establish the fact that he was connected with the Union Army in any way for ninety days, even if he got no further than the recruiting camp, may now have his name placed on the pension-roll and draw $8 a month for the rest of his life; and so, too, may any prosperous comrade who has amassed a competence since the war.

Moreover, it must be considered that the age restriction will soon disappear entirely. It has just been cut down from sixty-two to sixty years, and it will not be long before the Congressional demagogues will advocate its abolition, on the ground that some men are as old and as much in need of help at fifty as others at sixty, and that discrimination is unfair. We may as well, therefore, take it for granted that at no distant day everybody who had anything to do with the Union Army, good, bad, or indifferent, will be placed on the pension roll.

The spectacle of hundreds of thousands of men drawing from the Federal Treasury $100 apiece a year to which they have no just claim, will have a most unfortunate effect upon their neighbors, and thus, as they will be scattered all over the North, upon the general public. It debases patriotism to a money basis, and makes love of country too nearly equivalent to love of the almighty dollar, and the war for the Union altogether too much like a war for the spoils.

A NEW MOVE IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

The Trustees of Columbia College, under President Low's initiative, adopted on Mon-

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day a report which completely reorganizes the College and puts it definitively on the footing of a university, with faculties of philosophy, political science, mines, and law, each independent in its own sphere, but working under a university council made up of representatives of each faculty and of some selections made by the President. The University will give the Master's and Doctor's degrees, and the Council will "advise the President as to all matters affecting these degrees, the correlation of courses, the extension of University work in new and in old fields, and generally as to such matters as the President may bring before it."

The importance of all this, which may not at first sight be perceptible to those who are not familiar with university matters, is that it contains a further, and, indeed, full recognition of the fundamental principle of university organization, which has hitherto had so little countenance in American colleges, namely, that the teaching body, and not the property or the managers of the property simply, are the university; that you may have millions of endowment and acres of buildings, but if the teaching body are not in control of the things to be taught and of the manner of teaching them, you have no university. Considering how largely American colleges have owed their foundation and growth to voluntary contributions from men who never had the advantages of a university education, and had achieved their own success in life by the successful application of commercial standards to the various problems which confronted them, it is not surprising that even our best colleges are only now emerging from the condition of large estates to be prudently managed by business men, and the professors from the rôle of tutors called in to give such instruction to children as fond parents may think suitable. Until within twenty years, in truth, the only colleges which had secured emancipation from the property theory were the denominational ones, over which the clergy naturally exercised at least coördinate jurisdiction with the moneyed men. The others lay under the yoke without much hope of release, until a layman was appointed President of Harvard, and the Johns Hopkins foundation was put in charge of another with full powers.

Since then it is no exaggeration to say that there has been a great awakening among American colleges and great progress made in the direction of devoting their endowments to giving young men the higher education, instead of teaching the rudiments to young boys. This latter is really what Columbia did in the first quarter of the present century. The public knew very little more, and cared very little more, about what passed within its walls than about what passed within the walls of any day-school in this city. The first sign of any real development took place under Dr. Barnard, who had sound and large views of university functions; but he was, until within a few years of his death, when age had abated his powers, hampered by the property theory. Mr. Low is the first President who has entered on his functions untrammelled, and with adequate ideas of the true work which a university has to do for the community, and of the true relation of the property, and the buildings, and libraries, and laboratories to the teaching body. They are the university. They would be the university if the buildings were burnt down and they were giving instruction in tents in a vacant lot.

John Stuart Mill, in a famous article on universities written forty years ago, said the true function of a university was to "cultivate philosophy," meaning by philosophy mainly the laws of the human mind working in every field of thought. It would be folly for us to seek to put any of our universities wholly within the borders of this definition. The true work of an American university is to furnish to every man a fair chance to attain all attainable knowledge in every field of human activity, and to furnish it in such wise and through such channels that no eager student, no one even who loves knowledge for its own sake simply, shall turn away unsatisfied and say that he can do better abroad. The greater the demand is for knowledge "with money in it," to use the slang phrase, the greater the need of provision, above all in this country, for those who love the "still air of delightful studies," and feel how much the salvation of the modern world must depend on the size of the class which is devoted to "the things of the spirit." No high standard of scholarship can ever be maintained, and no such appreciation of knowledge as will lead young men to scorn delights and live laborious days in search of it, can be maintained or cherished in any institution in which the professor's office is not magnified and his judgment exalted to the utmost. The present reorganization at Columbia looks distinctly in this direction. It must have the effect of stimulating the love of culture among the undergraduates, of making the University, more than ever, what all our colleges ought to be, but what only a few really are, a seat of learning.

BROWNELL'S FRENCH TRAITS.

PARIS, April 17, 1890.

IT would take too long to analyze all the causes of the extraordinary indifference to foreign criticism which is one of the traits of the French national character. I will only say here that it must not be confounded with what we call chauvinism. It is not a form of pride, it is not a pretension of the "grande nation." It is something much deeper: it arises from a conviction that, such as we are, we cannot be well understood by anybody but ourselves, and that, whatever our failings may be, we have been for a long time, and are still, in the forefront of civilization. You will never find a well-bred Frenchman boast much about his own country, its literature, its victories, its art; you will find hardly any who does not take a permanent inward satisfaction in the feeling that he is a living atom in that great body, "France."

It will always be a somewhat ungrateful task for a foreigner to write an essay of comparative criticism on France—at least, if his object is to be read by the French. The task is difficult, and the reward is uncertain. I have read with much interest the 'French Traits' in which Mr. W. C. Brownell has condensed his observations on France. He has studied carefully our social instinct, our morality, our intelligence, our sentiment, our manners, our women, our artistic instinct, the spirit of our princes, our democracy. His mind is subtle, catholic, and generous. There is in his style a certain fluidity which makes it sometimes difficult for him to condense his thought. He has such a desire to be just and impartial that he sometimes takes us round and round a subject without allowing us to stop and to have a quiet and definitive view.

Mr. Brownell, with reason, attaches much importance to the sociability of the French people, and he may be right when he looks to the Catholic religion as one of the causes of this sociability. He says that fraternity is, as it were, "in the air" in France, and he adds that this sentiment "is the poetic side of the notion of equality." It is, he says further, on account of its intense sociability that "France is so inexhaustibly interesting—because, in one way or another, she, far more than any other nation, has always represented the aspirations of civilization, because she has always sought development *in common*, and because in this respect the ideal she has always followed is the ideal of the future."

It will always be difficult for us to know ourselves, much as we may try to follow the Greek precept. The difficulty is the same for a nation as for an individual, and nations are, even less than individuals, given to self-inspection. They follow their hereditary instincts; they learn to look upon their prejudices as if they were virtues, and upon their selfish aspirations as if they were the duties imposed on them by destiny. Sometimes they hear a word of truth from the mouth of a foreign judge; but if the truth is unpleasant, they console themselves easily with the reflection that the judge is incompetent, or biassed in his opinions by his national prejudices. I have often been struck, however, in this respect by the differences which are to be noticed in various countries in their sensitiveness to foreign criticism. It may, in a general way, be said that the older a nation is, the more insensible it becomes. Young nations are like young people, who are easily moved, and who do not bear criticism with equanimity. It must be remarked, also, that criticism does not touch us in the same manner when it comes from different quarters. We don't much mind the criticism of a Japanese, or a Chinaman, or a Bulgarian. An American, who will hardly pay any attention to the remarks of a Spaniard, an Italian, I might perhaps say also a Frenchman, will be much more attentive to the observations of an intelligent Englishman. The reason of this is obvious: we like to be judged by our peers. Community of race, community of thought, will always establish intellectual ties between the various members of the Anglo-Saxon family.

I should infer, from my own observations, that of all nations the French are probably the least susceptible of paying much attention to the criticisms of other nations. Saint-Simon likes to say, when he speaks of some very proud man of quality, "Il se sent"—he feels himself, he is conscious of himself. I look in vain for words to translate exactly his terse expression. So does the French people "feel itself"; it has the assurance which is given by centuries of high

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culture and of glorious history. A Frenchman will look with absolute indifference on the caricatures of *Punch* or of *Kladderadatsch*, and if there is something clever in them, he will be the first to enjoy it.

In his chapter on the social instinct, Mr. Brownell cites certain words of Gambetta's, but they were not faithfully reported to him. Gambetta was no Socialist, and in one of his speeches he attacked Socialism. Mr. Brownell writes: "There are no questions," said Gambetta superbly, "but *social* questions." What Gambetta really said was this: "There is no Social Question—there are social questions," meaning that the social difficulties must be treated and attacked one by one, but that there is no universal panacea for all the troubles of human society.

Having attached so much importance to French sociability, Mr. Brownell will not surprise us when he writes that "French morality is a direct derivative of the social instinct. Owing to the development of this instinct among them, morality is rather a social than an individual force, and the key to its nature is to be found in the substitution of honor for duty as a mainspring and a regulator of conduct." The distinction is a very plain and a very real one. Between the two there is all the difference that there is between the inspiration, say, of Lovelace's fine lines:

"I could not love thee, dear, so much
Loved I not honor more";

and that of Wordsworth's apostrophe:

"Stern daughter of the voice of God."

This chapter on "Morality" is remarkably fair. Mr. Brownell does not follow the vulgar prejudice which would find the French lacking in moral sense; he understands the French view of morality, the Latin view. He can be just to our ideal, which is partly elaborated in the depth of conscience and partly external. I cannot quite agree with him when he says that religion has not much to do, in our time, with this ideal, and when he affirms that "the great body of the French people is Voltairian.' The question which keeps our people rent in twain, so to speak, is the religious question. The *Kulturkampf* which was inaugurated by Gambetta when he said, "Le cléricalisme, c'est l'ennemi," resulted in the election to our last Chamber of Deputies of 200 Opposition members. (There are, in the present Chamber, about 180 Opposition members; but you must always keep in mind the tremendous power of the Administration in France.) I believe there is no exaggeration in saying that religious ideas have not lost their force with half the nation at least; and if you analyze the sentiments of the unbelievers, you will find them very different from those of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. See what a distance there is between the philosophy of 'Candide' and the philosophy of Renan. Even in science, you feel a deep religious aspiration. Musset said:

"Qui de nous, qui de nous va devenir un Dieu?"

I remember reading, during the Exhibition, excited lines by a clever writer who compared the rays of light shining from the top of the Eiffel Tower to the *Labarum* of Constantine. How difficult, indeed, is any analysis of French character. To-day, one will say with Voltaire, "Et cependant, cultivons notre jardin"; the next day, another will tell you that there is no happiness except in sacrifice. Balzac's "Human Comedy" shows you all the shades, all the extremes of French morality—the heroes, the saints, and the sinners.

It would be ungrateful in us to find fault with Mr. Brownell, when his sympathy for us leads him almost to partiality. His power of admiration seems never to abandon him. He enjoys the sensations obtainable from our café concert entertainments, and contrasts them with "those produced by the melancholy songs and the burnt-cork buffoonery under whose benign influence the Anglo-Saxon sensibility is so wont to expand." He admires excessively 'Madame Cardinal,' that creation of M. Ludovic Halévy's, and thinks that "these brief pages of *genre* will live as long as any masterpiece of the kind in literature." He calls it "a contemporary national document of the first class." He speaks of the "immensely clever and impressive work of M. Guy de Maupassant and M. Richepin." But his criticisms are, on an average, very just, very correct. The chapter on "Intelligence" shows the greatest familiarity with all our writers, even those who have not yet attained great fame. The stars of the first magnitude do not make him blind, and he can see the failings of Alexandre Dumas the younger, of Taine, even of Renan and of Victor Hugo.

In a "Tableau de Paris" manners and women must necessarily take a large place. Is it true that with us "le charme prime la beauté"? One of our poets—I believe it was Voltaire—said, "la grâce, plus belle encore que la beauté," but beauty, real beauty, will always hold her own, even in Paris; and if I needed a proof, I could find some examples in the American colony of Paris. Madame Récamier, when she was getting old, said to a friend: "Ah, my dear, it is all over. When I walk the streets, the little chimney-sweeps don't turn their heads any more." They do turn their heads at many whom I could name, and who do not all fall under this definition of Sébastien Mercier: "French women are remarkable for piercing, mischievous eyes, elegant features, and sprightly countenances, but fine heads are very rare among them." Mr. Brownell seems to share the opinion of Mercier. He tells us that "Mme. Sarah Bernhardt is well known to be what is called a *fausse maigre*"; in the balls of the Faubourg St. Germain, in the bal de l'Opéra, "the face may be positively common, but the figure is nearly sure to be superb." These are perhaps trifling remarks to make in a philosophical study of the position and the influence of women in French society. This influence, however, is well analyzed. There is not in France, as there is in America, "a separation and exaltation of woman's sphere far above contact with the rude strife of natural passions and complex interests, the intricate and absorbing conflict of business, politics, amusement, and ennui, of which the real drama of life is composed."

I have no room left to speak of the last chapters on the "Art Instinct," "The Provincial Spirit," "Democracy." This last chapter especially is particularly interesting, as it is a sort of justification and vindication of the action of the Republican party and the Republican Government during the last twenty years. This part of the work is, in my opinion, too journalistic—if I may use the word—too polemical. There is more originality in the concluding chapter, "New York after Paris." We go to Europe to become Americanized, said Emerson. Mr. Brownell says very amiably that "France Americanizes us less than any other country in Europe."

THE TRIUMPH OF AN IDEA.

FORLÍ, April 12, 1890.

AURELIO SAFFI is dead! To-day the city that gave him birth on the 13th of October, 1819, is overflowing with a sad, silent multitude, who have come from the remotest parts of Italy to pay the last tribute of love and sorrow, and accompany his remains to their last resting-place in the cemetery where his ancestors repose and where his noble-hearted mother was laid by other hands than his, while he was toiling in his exile to free the land, then crushed in the entwined embrace "of Pope, of Emperor and Kings," which now echoes his name in the palace of Italy's one King and in the meanest hovel of his beloved Romagna.

Six and thirty years ago with Saffi we undertook a tour throughout England and Scotland to lecture on "Italy for the Italians." Of sympathy there was plenty, nor was help refused; but of belief that the Italians would ever expel their foreign and domestic tyrants, and uprise from the ashes of the past a united, independent nation—only a dreamer here and there indulged in this wildest of Utopias. Saffi did believe—indeed, seems to have been born with the certainty—and from his boyhood worked instinctively to transform the idea into reality. By birth an aristocrat, by inclination a student—nay, a very bookworm—his gentle manners, noble form, and sweet, thoughtful face won every one who came in contact with him. "Could this be a Republican, this courteous gentleman—one of the demagogues, the triumvirs of Republican Rome—Mazzini's *alter ego?*" asked Englishmen who knew not Joseph in the olden days. And little thought many a reader of the Blue Books on Italy that one of the first important documents published in 1846 was penned by this young student of Forlí, fresh from the University of Rome, where he had just taken his degree. Nor did Saffi himself know till quite lately that the protest which he drew up in the name of the patriots of the Romagna against the pretended reforms of the Papal Government, had been considered of such importance by the English Ambassador as to be treated in official fashion. It occupies twelve pages of the Blue Book's correspondence on the affairs of Italy, part i, and so complete is the idea of national existence that it merits perusal even now.

Saffi was then in Rome, ostensibly practising law. He belonged to the secret society of patriots whose centre was Forlí, and when two Monsignori, Janni and Ruffini, were sent to calm the turbulent spirits of the Romagna with promises of reform, he was chosen to draw up a protest against the false promises and the party who could be contented by them. The revolutionary animus of the protest was in marked contrast to the prayers and supplications of the moderate faction for reforms, for a little breathing-space for one province, for one State. Then came Pio Nono, and when he blessed Italy the Romagna worshipped him; when he withdrew his benediction, he was himself accursed, fled to Gaeta, and the Romans elected their Assembly, which proclaimed the downfall of the temporal power and the Roman Republic. Saffi, elected deputy for Forlí, only entered into correspondence with Mazzini at the close of 1848; he was named Minister of the Interior before Mazzini, working in Tuscany for unity, came to Rome. We have before us an unpublished letter, in his own clear handwriting, to his mother, whom he was never more to see, dated Rome, April 29, 1849. On the morrow, the 30th of April, the French, under Oudinot, attacked the city, were defeated and driven back. The rest of Rome's truly glorious tale is known. Saffi, triumvir with Mazzini and Armellini, resigned when further defence was proclaimed impossible. After a few months in Switzerland with Mazzini,

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Saffi also came to London, returning to Italy in disguise. There, in 1852, he was the soul of the conspiracies that kept the Pope and Austria in hourly terror. Returning to England, he earned his living by his pen and as a professor at Oxford. When the war of 1859 was proclaimed, he would take no part "with the murderer of Rome for ally," but, immediately after the peace of Villafranca, cast in his lot with his countrymen, affirming their right to decide on their own form of government. Garibaldi in 1860 offered him the prodictatorship of Sicily, but he declined. After the plébiscite in homage to national sovereignty, he entered Parliament, and was one of the most active members of the first Italian Parliament from 1861 to 1863. Then, with Garibaldi, Bertani, and others, he resigned, and never again would stand as candidate or accept a seat when elected.

During his exile in England he married Georgina Crawfurd, sister of the Scotch member, and found in her a devoted helpmeet in his work, an exemplary mother to their four sons. The struggle for national existence over, his old student proclivities returned in full. His life was spent in study and in striving by every effort in his power to elevate morally, and materially ameliorate, the condition of the populations of the Romagna, where the long abasement of priestly rule had left such deep and terrible trace. Gentle as a child in all his relations with rich and poor, he could be terrible in his ire against sin and sinners. Deeds of blood—stabbing in the dark—are but too common still, but Saffi's deliberate, constant crusade against all violence or lawless action has reduced them to an extent that would alone justify his title to patriotism. He was a republican to the core, and as such demanded of his co-religionists "purity of life, obedience to law, fulfilment of duty, the fountain of all right."

When Mazzini died in 1872, Saffi devoted himself to the publication of the great teacher's writings, prefacing each volume with a lucid exposition of the times and circumstances in which it was penned. In 1875 it seemed to Saffi and other republicans that the time was come for all to take part in political elections; that all who had not a conscientious scruple or personal repugnance to take the oath to monarchy, should enter Parliament and strive to wring from the Government the long promised, never effected reforms. The moderates, dreading his influence, resolved to prevent the consequences. Villa Ruffi, where a private meeting was being held, was invaded, Saffi and others seized, handcuffed, and dragged to prison. After three months' detention, he was released and "absolved." This act precipitated the downfall of the moderates. Saffi made no fuss, no protest, returned to S. Varano, where he farmed his little estate on the half-and-half métayer system, and wrote his chief work, on 'Alberico Gentile,' "that synthesis of the law of nations; pages," says Giuseppe Ceneri, "which are inspired by immutable faith in the progress of humanity towards ever higher, ever purer ideals." Such was the enthusiasm created by this work among cultivated and thoughtful men that the municipality of Bologna named "Count Marcus Aurelius Saffi" honorary citizen, inscribing his name in its golden book. And the University of Bologna invited "this patriotic philosopher, this sapient jurist, to enter its ranks and assist the other professors in the education of the young generations on the broad lines of law and civic wisdom."

So in 1878 Saffi was created *dottore collegiato onorario* of the Faculty of Jurisprudence in the University of Bologna. His lectures were frequented by professors as well as by students. First he gave a course on "Public Law in the Italian Communes from the descent of Otto I. into Italy to the famous Lombard League"; then on "The Origin and Causes of the Difference between the Political and Judicial Institutions of England and the Other States of Western Europe which arose in the Middle Ages from the ruins of Roman Civilization"; later, on "Public Law in Ancient Italy, Ancient Rome, and the Middle Ages." He was engaged on a course of lectures on the "History of Diplomacy and Treaties" when, some three months since, the first attack of illness prostrated him. Over-study, over-work was the cause, for his lectures at the University never interrupted his arduous toil over Mazzini's writings. His preface to the seventeenth volume, giving the true story of the Paris tragedy of 1871, is a masterpiece. It was impossible to induce him to rest sufficiently, and on the eve of his death, hastened by his last public appearance at the inauguration of Mazzini's bust in Forlí, he had prepared his papers for returning to Bologna and continuing his lectures. The text of Mazzini's eighteenth volume is prepared, with a sketch of the preface; and he had also superintended the choice and copying of Mazzini's letters to political and private friends, and especially to his worshipped mother, the copies being made by his devoted wife, Georgina, now the heart-stricken widow. Death came suddenly as he was sleeping by her side. Only the youngest son of four was with her at S. Varano. The other three came too late to see the father alive; but they are all noble fellows, and will prove worthy of the name they bear.

To friends the blow is as unexpected as it is terrible. Only last week Saffi, reported as quite convalescent, sent to us in Mantua urgent appeal for such letters of Mazzini's as are in our hands, and wrote a beautiful letter to the son of Achille Sacchi, after the death of that noble patriot, one of the defenders of the Roman republic, wounded on the day that Manara was killed and Rome occupied by the French. A letter breathing all the simple, absolute belief in God, in immortality, in the one mission of man to do his duty to his fellowmen here below, one rarely reads in these days, but it was the heart and soul of Saffi, who perhaps alone among Mazzinians shared the religious views of his friend and master.

And now all is over. We have left him alone in the subterranean vault of the cemetery of Forlí, not less than 20,000 mourners following the hearse with reverent, sorrowful step. It has been no official ceremony, though the municipality of Forlí undertook the funeral, and the Syndic, with Menotti Garibaldi, Fortis, Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, representing the Government, with other six, representatives of municipalities and workingmen's societies, bore the pall. No! Saffi was loved and reverenced as the good genius of the Romagna, the apostle of "God and the People, Italy one and free." Four artillery wagons were laden with the wreaths and floral crowns sent from every part of Italy, redeemed and unredeemed (for Trent and Trieste sent their representatives to the funeral of this stanch champion of their right, as members of the Italian family, to be united to Italy in Rome).

BOLOGNA, April 14.

The commemoration promoted by the Workingmen's Society has been worthy of Saffi and "his people." The enormous theatre was crowded; the platform draped with ivy and camelias; the workingmen's associations from all parts of the Romagna, with their flags and standards, in the pit and on the boards, the élite of Bologna in the boxes. Venturini, the President of the workingmen, in the chair, in a few words gave the keynote—"the desire to show how entire was the harmony between the workmen of hand and brain. This it is that bids us believe that the great social question agitating the world may be resolved not by hate, but by love; not by violence, but by pacific means in this our young free Italy." Ceneri, Italy's greatest jurist, spoke with deep emotion of Saffi, master, friend, colleague. Then Filopante; the only Bolognese survivor of the representatives of the Roman republic, spoke: "The Roman republic is under an eclipse, but in due time, if the future is not spoiled by rash impatience, it will shine forth afresh to give light and life to all the nations of the earth united one with the other, by paternal ties, in an indissoluble federation." All allusions to the necessity of peace among nations were hailed with warm applause. Carducci, nervous with emotion, held the house as he rapidly indexed the history of Italian redemption and her redeemers, who loved Italy not as a mere land, but as we love a living woman, the mother of grief, the bride of hope.

Sad as it is to see these last of the old guard depart, still it is a relief to forget the petty struggles of the hour, "the Byzantine strife of parties," in contemplation of the triumph of the idea. Saffi lived to hear the Italian Government decree a national monument to Mazzini in Rome. His family and friends outlive him to read King Humbert's telegram to the widow, expressing his sorrow and sympathy with the nation's grief for the loss of this true Italian, this great and noble patriot.

J. W. M.

Correspondence.

THE SCHOOL-BOOK BILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your issue of April 24 contained an editorial that was so much at variance with the spirit of reform that usually dominates the *Nation*, as to call for a correction that I am sure you will be willing to allow. The article in question is entitled "A Very Queer Bill," and is founded upon a basis of error, as you will see upon further information and reflection. After stating, correctly, the specific object of the bill, which is to provide for a central board that shall have full control over all the text-books in use in the public schools of the State, the article says: "One trouble with our whole system of public schools is, that we have already too many boards, too much dictation, and too much machinery." Wisely said; there are too many boards, and the object of this bill is to take the matter out of the hands of the multiplicity of Boards of Education all over the State, which have abused their power most shamefully for the last quarter of a century, and put the control in the hands of *one* board, instead of a large number of boards. If all the evils that are anticipated from the proposed change were to be multiplied a thousand fold, they could not begin to be as bad as the evils that have existed in this city for twenty-five years, and that will probably continue to exist for as long a time to come unless some such bill as this can be passed before then.

The article says: "It is well known, so profitable is the sale of text-books, that there has always been a lively competition among rival firms to secure the supply for any one large

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city." This sentence, as a statement of fact, is absolutely incorrect. There has not been anything approaching to competition in that line in this city or in Buffalo or in most of the other cities of the State for a great number of years. There may have been such a competition before the war, but not since then. So true is this, and so well known is the truth, that the story of the book-ring that rules this city has been told in our newspapers over and over again at every spring election when members of the Board of Education have been nominated by the book-ring (at political party caucuses) and elected by the people. The statements have never been denied—only laughed at. Tweed's old question has always been asked, "What are you going to do about it?" and the compliant answer has usually been given back by the voters at the polls, "Nothing." Not in every ward of the city is this invariably the case, but almost always enough are chosen to give the ring a good working majority. The efforts of good citizens were put forth more vigorously this last spring than ever before: some bad candidates were disavowed by their own party organs, and enough anti-ring men were elected to give us the victory, as we hoped. Only another disappointment was in store! The anti-ring candidate for President of the Board was not in all respects the most desirable man possible, and one of the newspapers that had been supposed to be true to reform took advantage of that fact and assailed him with such a torrent of abuse that he was defeated. The desire of the book-ring was attained, though not in the customary manner.

To make the matter of the utter absence of competition more plain, let me allude to an article that appeared in the *Evening Post* a few days ago. In speaking of the bill in question it said that well-informed people openly charge that the bill "is a corrupt job, the sole object of which is the financial profit of the 'School-book Trust,' the combination of four large publishing houses," whose names it proceeded to give. This is the most extraordinary statement ever made in a paper of the high standing of the *Evening Post*. The complete misconception on which it is founded will be seen from the following facts, known to be facts, publicly stated repeatedly by the writer and others associated with him, and never denied:

Years and years ago the first three of the houses mentioned (and one or two others), recognizing the uselessness of expensive competition, entered into a pact, not so formal as the Trust that has just been created, but quite formal enough, by which the whole State was parcelled out; each house was to have a particular city or cities, and the agent of no other house was to cross the boundary line. The first of the houses named took this city, and it has kept it ever since. Its agent here is one of the most astute politicians in Rochester, and all his skill is brought into play—first, at the caucuses of both parties, then at the polls, then in the Board of Education. Since that arrangement was made, not a single text-book, not a bottle of ink, not a piece of chalk, not a single item of school supplies has been introduced into any one of the public schools of Rochester without the direction of that agent, who occasionally allows some other dealer to furnish some insignificant articles, just enough to enable him to say that not quite everything comes from the same house, but not enough to appreciably affect the profits of his principals. Of course the prices which he charges are fixed by the house in New York, and have no relation to the general laws of trade. The trouble, annoyance, and expense to parents and pupils, caused by the arbitrary change of text-books, are almost intolerable, and it is to remedy this injustice, if possible, that the Citizens' Educational Association of this city is in existence.

These facts may be new to you; they are very familiar to all our citizens, and have been recited frequently at public reform meetings. At one of those meetings, more than a year ago, a committee, of which the writer was a member, was appointed to frame a bill that should remedy those evils by taking the control of text-books and school supplies out of the hands of a particular publishers' board of education. The bill was sent down to Albany and went through several stages in the last Legislature, but the agents of the book-ring were on hand and the bill was swamped by a Danaë-like shower. The same bill, with the full endorsement of the Citizens' Educational Association, has been sent down again this winter, and is now before the Senate. It is to be hoped that it will pass both houses and receive the Governor's signature. We have, however, little expectation of that; another inundation of current arguments will probably overwhelm it, as before. That is looked for, but the antagonism of those who ought to be its friends is as surprising as it is unpleasant. Criticise the provisions of the bill as much as you like, but do not say that its sole object is the profit of the School-Book Trust when it was framed by those who have been fighting the book-ring for many years; and do not say that there is a lively competition when there is none whatever.

WM. F. PECK.

ROCHESTER, April 29, 1890.

[Our remarks were not confined in principle to the State of New York, but if they had been, we should still object to Mr. Peck's remedy. We have no faith in a Board of Education selecting text-books for the whole State, much less in their preparing suitable books, or causing them to be prepared "by experts." Experts arise by competition in the ordinary course of trade, and are tested by the actual experience of the teacher. If the Board were qualified to pick out the expert, that would not insure the making of a good book. The law of freedom here as elsewhere gives the best results, and, while favoring constantly the best and most spontaneous productions, allows the more enlightened communities to take full advantage of them. It also tends to minimize, in the domain of history, the theological conflicts which the proposed Board would be very likely to precipitate, as well by omission as by commission.—ED. NATION.]

INDIRECT EVIDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the April number of the *Contemporary Review* is a remarkable article, by Mr. A. V. Dicey, on the possibility of applying the Swiss Referendum to Great Britain. It is somewhat curious to see so conservative a writer, and one so strongly under the influence of legal tradition, toying with such a radical innovation; and indeed he cautiously observes that he is not advocating it, but only aiming to show that the arguments against it are not conclusive.

My reason for alluding to this article now is to point out how, indirectly and quite unintentionally, it shows how a ministry may hold seats in a legislature without being dependent upon it for the tenure of office, or bound to resign upon an adverse vote of the majority.

"As the tenure of office is (or may be) immediately connected with a Minister's success in carrying a given bill through Parliament, there is great difficulty in his renouncing legislation proposed by himself when he finds the country will not support his bill, without his at least incurring the charge of undue tenacity in clinging to office. The reference of a particular law—say a Parliamentary Reform Bill—to the people for approval or rejection, would greatly increase the freedom and improve the moral position of the Minister who advocated the measure. If the bill were accepted, things would stand exactly as they do now when a bill finally passes into an act. If it were rejected, the Minister could, like a member of the Swiss Council, accept the rejection as a final expression of the nation's will. It would soon be felt that he might with perfect honesty pursue the course which would now be taken by a member of the Swiss Council. He need not pretend that his opinion is altered. He might say openly that he still, as a matter of opinion, thought his own bill wise and politic. But he might also say that it was a matter on which the nation was final judge, and that he accepted the nation's decision. In all this there would be no pretence at conversion. There would simply be a pledge as to conduct. The Minister might continue to administer the affairs of the country as honorably as Peel held office after the passing of the Reform Act, or as a servant of the Crown in the days of Elizabeth remained in the service of the Queen, even though her Majesty had, on some high matter of state, rejected his advice."

If, in this extract, instead of the word "nation," we read "Congress," why would not the argument be just as good? Certainly it would not in Great Britain, because, as a Parliamentary vote is the only thing which can make a ministry, a similar vote must of necessity unmake it. If the Queen really appointed the Ministers, she might keep the same for twenty years, as the late Emperor William did Prince Bismarck. But in this country, where the President, and therefore the Cabinet, go to the nation every four years for approval or rejection, we might have all the benefit of the action of a ministry upon Congress without any such dependence upon Congress for their seats.

As akin to the subject, I observe, in your literary notices, that Prof. von Holst thinks that if Mr. Bryce had gone more thoroughly into the legal aspects of the Constitution, he would hardly have ventured the conjecture that a European cabinet might have solved the slavery question, whereas, in the American Congress, "it was the function of no one authority in particular to discover a remedy, as it would have been the function of a cabinet in Europe." If the strength of a mouse can add anything to that of a lion, I remark that for a quarter of a century I have been laboring to establish just this proposition of Mr. Bryce's, having begun, in the weakness of youthful enthusiasm, by publishing a pamphlet upon it at the outbreak of the war. *Me judice*, it is Dr. von Holst, and not Mr. Bryce, who, in this respect at least, has not bestowed adequate study upon the political history of the United States.

It is precisely this absence of a national authority which has again subjected the country to a glaring outrage of the lobby in the shape of the Silver Bill. Does any human being suppose for a moment that the nation as a whole wishes for silver inflation? It is hardly extravagant to say that all the financial institutions of the country would, as one man, if they were asked, record their opinion against it. It is, pure and simple, the result of a combination of silver-mine owners taking advantage of the extraordinary facilities for intrigue furnished by the way in which the Government at Washington is carried on. There is no one thing which needs so strongly to be impressed upon

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the rising generation as this, that the arch-enemy which threatens the prosperity and even the life of our institutions—the poisonous miasma which calls, politically speaking, for all the resources of modern science in drainage and sanitation—the many-headed hydra, in the conflict with which the young Hercules of the Republic will need all the strength he can draw from his mother earth—is *the lobby*.

G. B.

BOSTON, April 26, 1890.

Notes.

FOR half his life (and he is now seventy years of age) Mr. John Lovell, the well-known publisher of Montreal, has contemplated a 'Gazetteer and History of every County, District, Parish, Township, City, Town, and Village in the Eight Provinces, with descriptions of more than 3,000 Islands, Lakes, and Rivers in the Dominion of Canada.' Having already carried to successful, if not profitable, conclusion two mammoth Directories of Canada (1856) and the Dominion (1871), Mr. Lovell has the requisite experience and connections for the vaster undertaking of his Gazetteer, as to which he will be content with nothing short of eleven volumes. The expense he estimates to be so great that only a subscription, in advance, of $150,000 will warrant his proceeding with the undertaking, and a sixth of this sum has been already pledged. There will be eight Province maps, and illustrations if paid for by persons interested.

The Messrs. Scribner will publish immediately 'How Shall We Revise the Westminster Confession of Faith?' by seven representative revisionist Presbyterian divines, including Drs. Vincent and Briggs. They announce also the second of the translations from Imbert de Saint-Amand, 'The Happy Days of the Empress Marie Louise,' and 'Dizzy Joe, and Other Comics,' from the pencil of A. B. Frost.

'The Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens,' by Miss Jane Harrison and Mrs. A. W. Verrall, and 'The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion,' by J. G. Frazer, are in the press of Macmillan & Co.

George H. Ellis, Boston, will make a volume of 100 pages of Mr. Edwin D. Mead's addresses on the Roman Catholic Church and the Public Schools.

In June, Ginn & Co. will publish 'The Leading Facts of American History,' by D. H. Montgomery, a companion to the same author's 'Leading Facts' of English and French history respectively.

John Wiley & Sons have begun to issue a series of twelve volumes, 18mo, from new plates, of Ruskin's complete works at a moderate price. Uniform with these will be a second series of 'Selections from the Works of John Ruskin,' edited by Mrs. Tuthill and others.

Among several German and French texts in preparation by Henry Holt & Co., we name Mérimée's 'Colomba,' edited by Prof. W. I. Knapp of Yale. A 'Short French Reader' and a 'Short German Reader,' by Prof. W. D. Whitney, will be brought out by the same firm.

Of late years the books of the "Bibliothèque-Charpentier" have tended toward an excessive naturalism. Now M. Charpentier announces a new collection in the same handy form, and in this "Nouvelle Collection" (New York: F. W. Christern) are to be included novels of literary merit, not risky and not namby-pamby—in short, fit reading for a lady of education and taste. The prospectus declares that the mere fact that a book appears in the "Nouvelle Collection" is proof "qu'elle peut être laissée sans contrôle entre toutes les mains, même entre celles des jeunes filles." Among the authors who have promised to contribute are Alphonse Daudet, André Theuriet, Hector Malot, and Théodore de Banville. The first volume to appear is 'L'Abbé Roitelet,' a simple and sympathetic sketch of a country priest who is devoted to bird-catching. It is by M. Ferdinand Fabre, and is eminently innocent. There is a quaint charm in the description of the Christmas feast in the Cévennes.

George Keil, Philadelphia, has in hand a 'Medical Register Directory and Intelligencer,' edited by Dr. William B. Atkinson.

The reproduction by "process" of a Webster's Dictionary of 1847 as a commercial venture (the copyright having expired) in 1890, is certainly one of the humors of the trade. No doubt there are plenty of people so much in need of dictionary learning as to be taken in by this revival of an obsolete book, but there ought to be a general warning against the deception which alone makes success possible.

The third volume of the 'Century Dictionary' marks the completion of one-half of this noble work, and concludes with the letter L. The compounds of *in-* alone fill more than 150 pages; the *hy-* derivatives from the Greek upwards of thirty. The specific entries under *index*, *Irish*, *iron*, *knife*, and *lamp* are good examples of the cyclopædic character of the Dictionary, as, to cite one of each, "Index Librorum Prohibitorum," "Irish Church Act" of July 26, 1869, "Italian iron" (a fluting iron), "War to the knife," "Student lamp." The illustrations maintain their high degree of excellence. Their abundance is apparently affected by the large number of abstract and scientific terms in this division of the alphabet.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have added to their list Mr. W. E. Griffis's Life of Matthew Calbraith Perry, and given it a second edition, without ostensible revision. Miss Sarah Orne Jewett has selected for the Riverside Aldine Series eight of her shorter stories, under the title, 'Tales of New England,' and has thus provided good entertainment in a form as refined as her workmanship.

A little less than three years ago we noticed Mr. Hubert Hall's 'Society in the Elizabethan Age,' a diorama rather than a panorama: society manifested in types, *e. g.*, the landlord, the steward, the tenant, the burgess, etc., rather than after the manner of the historical novel. Mr. Hall now publishes a third edition (London: Swan Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan), and is able to substantiate still further the whitewash applied to his hero—for "Wild Darrell," Lord of Littlecote, landlord and courtier, is the main figure of his group, and serves the purpose of a hero in fiction. The book is very attractive externally.

Mr. Oscar S. Straus's work, designed to show the influence of Hebrew history and ideas on the formation of the republic of the United States, has after five years been translated into French by Mme. Aug. Couvreur, wife of an ex-President of the Belgian Chamber ('Les Origines de la Forme Républicaine du Gouvernement dans les États-Unis d'Amérique' Paris: Félix Alcan). Prof. Laveleye contributes a preface in which he insists on the natural harmony between Catholicism and despotism, and explains the failure of the French Revolution by the dominant religion of the country. He makes, in his rather scanty references to America, some curious errors, as when he says that Massachusetts established from the beginning the separation of Church and State, which was really effected only during the present century.

Mr. J. H. Wigmore's work on the Australian ballot is being published in full in a Japanese dress, and Prof. Ely's 'Political Economy' is about to share the same distinction.

The late Dr. Milner Fothergill was very felicitous in expression, and he thought much and clearly on subjects that concerned his fellowmen. His posthumous essay, 'The Town-Dweller' (D. Appleton & Co.), expanded from a paper before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and published under the editorship of Dr. B. W. Richardson, is equally acceptable in style and suggestive of thought. Dr. Fothergill maintains that life in crowded cities, however it may stimulate the wits, deteriorates the body, so that, without fresh immigration from the country, the urban race would soon die out. This unpleasant prospect is so clearly brought into view that citizens interested in their posterity may enjoy the argument intellectually, although not happy over the impending fate. Their air, food, and habits are so diverse from those of rural life that each succeeding civic generation yields to its environment in retrogression. We have only space to quote, as a sample, the remark, "It is a great pity that education must go on during growth" (p. 95), which, as it seems opposed to the course of nature, will give some a start, but with which, as it is true, every student of physiology will agree. The little book is full of such texts, with clear-headed commentary.

Alexandre Dumas, *fils*, has for a fourth time gathered into a volume his scattered pamphlets and articles, and the new 'Entr' Actes' (Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern) is marked as the first number of a second series, which is fair encouragement for a belief that a second volume will follow in due season. The chief contents of the present volume are "Les Femmes qui tuent et les Femmes qui votent" and "La Recherche de la Paternité." But a letter chiefly about collaboration, another to M. Sarcey on the drama, and a third to M. Paul Alexis, are the most interesting to the general reader—though we may doubt if M. Alexis enjoyed the epistle addressed to him.

Mr. Joseph C. Rowell, Librarian of the University of California, puts forth a novel 'Contents-Index' of the "comparatively small but valuable library of reference" over which he presides. It is the product of a regular practice of "indexing books and magazines immediately upon their receipt," and of giving the students the benefit of this in MS. at once. The publication of Poole's Index has enabled Mr. Rowell to discard a vast number of references to periodicals, and his compact and abbreviated index makes an octavo volume of but 519 pages. In spite of the limitations of his material, he has made a widely available addition to existing helps to study and research. Every library should own one or more copies of his index. Mr. Rowell deserves great praise as a pioneer in a field in which he is perhaps more likely to find imitators than coöperators. His second volume awaits the accruing of forty or fifty thousand additional volumes.

We make to-day a passing record of the appearance of indexes to volumes i.–x. of the Baltimore *American Chemical Journal* and *American Journal of Philology* respectively.

The *Academy* of April 12 announces some remarkable discoveries concerning Giordano Bruno that have been made by Dr. Remigius Stölzle, Professor of Philosophy at Würzburg. In the town library he has found a MS. of the 'Liber Triginta Statuarum,' which is more

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complete and correct than the Moscow one; and in the University library of Erlangen two other MSS., commentaries upon Aristotle. These last were composed when Bruno was in the College of Cambrai, at Paris. They are not written in his own hand, but have been copied by others. All these documents, and others that Prof. Stölzle has found that bear upon their author's life and writings, have been sent to the editors of Giordano Bruno's works, Messrs. Tocco and Vitelli, and will be published by them.

The Italian Ministry of Public Instruction has offered prizes and honorable mention for dialectic vocabularies presented before June 30, 1893. The prize-winners will retain their copyright, but cannot touch their money till their manuscripts have been printed.

In August, Antwerp will celebrate the 300th anniversary of the death of the famous printer, Christopher Plantin, whose workshop, now a public museum, is one of the chief attractions of the Belgian city. Simultaneously will be inaugurated the new Museum of Fine Arts and the Museum of Antiquities, and it has seemed a good time to hold a conference of all persons concerned in the art of book-making and book-publishing. The programme runs on from material considerations of form, types, pagination, indexes, illustrations, to duties on books, copyright, founding of public libraries, etc. Persons desiring an invitation to the conference should address Mr. Max Rooses, General Secretary, at the Musée-Plantin-Moretus, of which he is the learned curator. The American tourist will do well to make a note of this interesting occasion.

Some of our readers may like to know of the existence of a Society for the Study of the Old Masters, originated and conducted by Miss E. B. Waring of Newport, R. I. It aims to facilitate the study of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's 'History of Painting in Italy' and 'Life of Raphael' by what we may call a circulatory Grangerizing or "extra illustration." Text and photographs are passed from hand to hand among the subscribers in a manner made familiar by book clubs, clubs for microscopic study, etc. Mrs. E. F. Stephenson, 1216 Tenth Avenue, New York, is the Secretary of the above Society.

— The May *Atlantic* puts in the first place a careful notice of Ibsen, who seems for the moment to be the name to conjure with in the magazines. Critically the article is neither better nor worse than the score by other writers upon the same topic. A more unusual, indeed a unique subject, is the sketch of Sir Peter Osborne, the hero of Castle Cornet, by the editor of Dorothy Osborne's letters, that delightful volume with which our readers were made acquainted on its appearance two years ago. Sir Peter was a worthy father of his daughter, nor has a more excellent example of the old English strain, simple, strong, and true, been set before us for many a day than comes out in the few letters of Sir Peter here given, in which he exhibits the constancy of his allegiance to King Charles under the double strain of Warwick's friendly overtures on the part of Parliament and the enmity of Sir George Carteret, the King's representative. The character of Sir Peter is a bright spot in the dark history of the Rebellion. Another historical paper is on the well-worn romance of Mary Queen of Scots, and describes the funeral scene by the light of some unused documents. Agnes Repplier writes with great good sense of the affectation by which the too innocent reader pretends to like books which he is told he should enjoy, and in the course of her remarks aims a shrewd remark or two at the excesses of critics of the smaller kind, whose only stock in trade is some popular fad or personal enthusiasm of their own. Mr. Morton concludes his vigorous examination of the objections to civil-service reform with an attack upon the "rotation-in-office" superstition, which has seldom been reduced to such an appearance of mere silliness as by his argument and invective. There is rather more than the usual proportion of fiction in the number.

—From the advanced sheets of the First Annual Register of Clark University it appears that that institution is entirely committed to post-graduate work, which for the present is confined to the five departments of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and psychology, with modern languages taught to meet the needs of students in these fields. The policy of the Trustees to strengthen to the utmost departments already existing before proceeding to the creation of new ones, is to be scrupulously adhered to. The year has been a prosperous one. The number of students has embraced graduates of forty-eight colleges. Twenty-eight lecturers have given thirty-three courses, with an average attendance of eight hearers to each course. In addition to the thirty fellowships and scholarships established by the founder, others have already been founded by outsiders who have been impressed with the plan and scope of the institution. The status and salary of the Docents, who are entirely independent of the heads of departments, and whose relations are directly with the President, have just been materially raised. Their honors and opportunities are reserved for men of pronounced scientific attainment whose work has already marked a distinct advance beyond the doctorate, and who wish to engage in teaching and to deliver a limited number of lectures on some special chapter of their department. A number of them have been provided with individual rooms, and expensive apparatus and books have been purchased for their work. If they desire, and their qualifications are approved, they may be invested, as the highest formal academic honor, with the *licentia docendi*, the terms of which can now be furnished; and so far as this diploma can have the significance of a title or degree, it will be regarded by the University as a brevet college professorship. The existence of such a select body ought to diminish the difficulties under which college trustees sometimes succumb in selecting professors. A central building of ninety rooms and a chemical laboratory of sixty are already nearly completed. The library already contains more than 10,000 bound volumes and receives nearly 200 periodicals.

—Dr. Charles Waldstein finished his excavating work at Platæa in the second half of March. The members of the Archæological School at Athens who assisted him there were Mr. W. J. Hunt, Messrs. H. S. and C. M. Washington, Mr. Shelley, Mr. H. T. Hale, and Mr. J. F. Gray. Their first object was to make an accurate map of the ancient city of Platæa, so far as it is now visible. The site has been thoroughly surveyed; the walls, which are over two and a half miles in circumference, have been measured; and the publication of the results will place them at the service of all classes of students. A careful paper on the topography of the battle-field of Platæa has also been prepared by Mr. Hunt, and will be illustrated by a new map drawn by Messrs. Hunt and Hale. Dr. Waldstein carried on other excavations at several points within and without the city walls, but without discovering as yet one of the three important temples (Athena, Hera, Demeter). In the course of the excavations some interesting inscriptions were encountered, the most important of which was a large slab containing a portion of the famous Edict of Diocletian, "De Pretiis Rerum Venalium." Last year Dr. Waldstein found at Platæa fifty-four lines of the Latin preamble to this edict. About half a mile from the scene of this find was discovered another slab, of about the same dimensions and in the same form, of the body of the edict in the Greek text, and it appears to be likely that the preamble was given in the Latin originally, whereas for the use of the people the text itself was published in Greek. The portion of the price-list contained in this tablet is the one dealing with the price of textiles. A part of it is published and known from other fragments, but there are interesting variations even in this part. A column and a half of the prices here given has hitherto been unknown, and supplies the beginning of the eighteenth chapter in Waddington's edition, hitherto wanting. Another inscription records dedications on the part of women to a goddess, probably Artemis or Demeter, and contains a large number of interesting feminine names. Dr. Waldstein intends to complete his excavations at Platæa next session.

— The second edition of W. Cunningham's 'Growth of English Industry and Commerce' (vol. i., Cambridge University Press, 1890) contains more than twice as much matter as the first edition, which was published in 1882. The author aims to give such an account of the development of English industry as may be easily followed by persons but slightly acquainted with history and political economy. At the same time, the book contains much that will interest and instruct the special student of these two branches of learning. The author emphasizes throughout the interdependence between the industrial and political history of England, keeping constantly in view the principle that "the economic institutions and ideas of each age are relative to their political and social environment." The book is an admirable one, and may safely be recommended to teachers and students of English institutions. We do not think that the author fully comprehends the situation of the mediæval Jews of England (pp. 187–193). For example, we doubt his assertion that "every legislative effort was made in the thirteenth century to induce them to conform to ordinary ways and take to other callings, so that they might be assimilated into the life of the places where they lived" (p. 190). In fact, the King's repeated demands for enormous sums of money tended strongly to keep the Jew away from ordinary callings, which yielded small profits. In the Appendix (pp. 501–579) some valuable documents are printed *in extenso*. The author seems to ascribe the tax of a fifth on the movables of the Londoners to the twelfth century (p. 541); but there appear to be good reasons for placing this levy in a later period. On the whole, the book is free from faults, and is a very scholarly piece of work.

— Somewhat more than a year ago, we chronicled the founding of the *Vierteljahrschrift für Litteraturgeschichte*, edited by Bernhard Seuffert. The second volume, now lately completed, justifies the good opinion of the enterprise we had then formed from the prospectus and the initial numbers. Among the noteworthy articles of the past year may be mentioned, first, a long and scholarly essay by Oscar Netoliczka upon German pastoral poetry

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of the eighteenth century. The paper traces the history of the German shepherd-idyl in its relation to Theocritus and Virgil, and to the French pastoral, and also gives a good account of the theory on which these fantastic aberrations were constructed and defended. The study is an interesting one, and ought to be the more welcome from the fact that the literature examined is so very insipid. Of much interest also is an essay by Werner Pfau upon "Old Norse in Gerstenberg." Gerstenberg, born in 1737, was the first German to utilize Norse mythology in poetry, and was, in this matter, the immediate precursor and inspirer of Klopstock. Students know what a curiously fantastic and unhistorical conception Klopstock and his contemporaries had of the ancient Norseman. Kelts, Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, and Deutsch-men were mixed up together, and all were known as "our ancestors." The conception of the ancient Germans as a race of brave, hardy, and guileless sentimentalists fitted in well with the scenery of the Ossianic poems, and with Rousseau's theory of civilization as the progressive deterioration of man; and out of it all arose that comical episode in the history of German poetry known as the "Bardengebrüll." The essay we speak of shows in detail just how Gerstenberg got his impressions of the Northmen. It is written with wide and thorough scholarship, and with excellent critical discernment, and is the more remarkable as being the posthumous work of a young man who died in 1887 at the age of twenty-two.

— Another article of the *Vierteljahrschrift* which deserves mention is one by Hermann Conrad upon "Carlyle and Schiller." This describes the genesis of Carlyle's interest in German literature, but makes too much, we think, of Schiller's influence. It is going too far to say that "his [Carlyle's] saviour in his time of utmost need was Schiller"; especially when Carlyle has very emphatically told us that it was Goethe. An interesting feature of this paper is its review of Carlyle's critical judgments with regard to Schiller. In general Herr Conrad finds Carlyle rather shallow; he objects to him that his criticism consists so largely in the expression of mere personal feeling, and that it sticks too close to the moral and religious point of view. He disapproves Carlyle's later and cooler essay upon Schiller, as compared with the earlier 'Life,' and especially takes the Scotchman to task for placing Schiller "far below" Milton (which, by the way, Carlyle does not exactly do). "What has the world of to-day," exclaims our German essayist, "what will future centuries have, from Milton?" We do not care to assail the position that Schiller is on the whole a more universal poet than Milton, and has more to say to modern men; but we do wonder why it is that German critics of the present day can, as a rule, see nothing in Milton except a famous and respected fossil like their own Klopstock. The reason is of course to be found partly in Milton's theology and in the partisan temper of his mind. By virtue of these qualities, he strikes the Germans as a pamphleteer and a preacher, quite devoid of that genial breadth which they admire in Chaucer, and especially in Shakspere. But if we mistake not, there is another reason weightier than this. Milton's strength and charm, so far as he is now read for enjoyment by the English-speaking race, consist very largely in his superb management of the English language, and in his all but "infallible touch in matters of rhythm." These are qualities which the foreigner can rarely appreciate at their true value.

ADAMS'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF JEFFERSON.—I.

History of the United States of America during the Second Administration of Thomas Jefferson. By Henry Adams. Vols. III. and IV. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

In this continuation of the history of the United States during the second term of Jefferson's Administration, from March, 1805, to March, 1809, we mark the presence of the same thoroughness of research, sobriety of judgment, even-handed impartiality, and accuracy of statement which, in the earlier volumes, commanded the respect of intelligent readers even where they could not always share the writer's point of view. In the present volumes, Mr. Adams moves over his ground with even a greater sense of the security inspired by a conscious mastery of his subject. In the former volumes he seemed to write under the shadow, if not under the glamour, of a political fame which he could not always substantiate to himself, even while confessing its fascinations; while the strange contradictions which he supposed himself to find in Jefferson's personal and political character were occasionally reflected in "the shifting and uncertain flicker" of his own critical judgments, as he held up his mirror, now in one direction and now in another, to catch a series of "semi-transparent shadows." In the volumes before us we see no traces of mental hesitation, or of the historical reserve which turns upon itself with more doubts and questionings than it can solve. The diction of the writer, always pithy and sententious, gains in fluency as he advances from stage to stage in his narrative.

In resuming his story at the beginning of Jefferson's second term, Mr. Adams notes the fact that at that time the Republican President "had made a democratic polity victorious at home and respectable in the world's eyes." The day had come when, in his second inaugural address, he could frankly exult in the success of that sanguine political philosophy which had lifted him into the Presidential seat, and when he could even indulge in covert sneers at the vaticinations of evil with which his advent to power had been heralded by the clerical and political magnates of New England. This second inaugural address, it is known, contained a mock-earnest homily which, in being nominally directed to a commiseration of our Indian tribes, because of the subjection in which they were held by their chiefs and "medicine men," was really levelled at that portion of the New England people who, under the influence of what Mr. Adams calls their "clergy, lawyers, and keen-witted squirarchy," persisted in standing aloof from the dominant mass of their fellow-citizens. The poor politics of such a rhetorical fetch was exceeded only by its bad taste. Mr. Adams is careful to tell us that Gallatin remonstrated against the indecorous allusion.

But the emphasis thus given by Jefferson to the declared antithesis which had now come to exist between the recalcitrant Federalism of New England and the self-complacent Republicanism which prevailed elsewhere in the United States, only causes us the more to regret that Mr. Adams has nowhere essayed a philosophical explanation of what seems to us among the most striking phenomena in our political history—to wit, how it came to pass that what was originally a social democracy in New England became the foundation of the most inveterate form of aristocratic politics ever exhibited in our annals; and how it was that a social feudalism in the South, built on an institute so anti-democratic as predial slavery, became the seed-plot of a popular political philosophy which degenerated at length into the so-called "vulgarity" of the Jacksonian era. This inquiry is not one which lies outside of Mr. Adams's purview as an historian, for it is one which enlisted the curiosity of speculative politicians at the very beginning of Jefferson's second term, when the dividing of the ways in our national politics had become sufficiently pronounced to indicate that the differentiation was not casual, but followed the trend of divergent tendencies hidden in our social strata.

Less than two months after Jefferson's second inauguration the causes of this separatism in the politics of New England were made a topic of formal discussion in the official journal of the Administration, the *National Intelligencer*, and these causes, as then and there analyzed (we abbreviate their substance in our own terms), were reduced under the following heads: The original religious separatism to which the New England colonies owed their origin; the clannishness and pride of opinion engendered by a sense of superior education; the greater compactness of the population, lending itself to the easier assimilation of opinions; better interior arrangements for the dissemination of ideas from a central point; the welding processes of the Revolutionary period, during which New England was confessedly at the head of the political movement; the consolidating tendencies of the early fiscal policies of Washington and John Adams, enuring to the special advantage of a people living by their wits rather than by agriculture; and, finally, the greater dependence of New England trade and industry on the fostering care of the Federal Government, a fact which naturally made the New England people averse to the independent and bucolic politics of Virginia. Such were, in substance, the views held by partisans of Jefferson when, at that early date, they undertook to account for the New England stratification in our national politics. It would have been instructive to see these constant elements of our party formation surveyed by Mr. Adams from that higher point of view which we have reached to-day. Bryce makes only a passing allusion to the subject.

With a theory of statesmanship broader than that announced in his first inaugural address; with opposition to his rule practically annihilated; with politic concessions which were slowly conciliating the favor of the more moderate class of Federalists, Jefferson stood in 1805, as Mr. Adams thinks, "nearly where President Washington stood ten years before." The prospects of a true American nationality had never seemed so promising, and this, too, in spite of the fact that "the national Government was controlled by ideas and interests peculiar to the region south of the Potomac." The acquisition of Florida, was, for the time being, the goal of Southern ambition, and hence it was that "the Florida question" became in the spring and autumn of 1805 the burning question of the Republican Administration.

Mr. Adams shows that it was Napoleon's countercheck quarrelsome, interposed against the diplomatic moves of Monroe in the course of his tedious and abortive negotiations with Spain, which "decided the fate of Jefferson's second administration"; because it was that countercheck which compelled Jefferson to reverse the positive and energetic policy to which he had been previously committed, in pursuit not only of Florida, but also of our just reclamations against Spain for wrongs done to our commerce. During the residue of his term he was doomed to halt and vacillate among conflicting opinions and dubious policies, which

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left an impress of indecision on all his subsequent dealings with Spain and with the French autocrat. The French Emperor, in becoming the arbiter of Spain's destiny, had become the master of the political situation as between the Spanish Court and the United States. After the victory of Austerlitz he found it still easier to impose his policy of expectation both on Spain and on the United States. In the end our whole controversy with Spain, by reason of its dependence on the will and pleasure of Napoleon, and by reason of being caught in the meshes of Talleyrand's tricky diplomacy, assumed the appearance of "a French job." It is doubtless easy to say that the fluctuations of our policies at that date were peculiar to the characters and purposes of Jefferson and his Secretary of State, as men who were agreed to make peace their "passion"; but it seems to us, even from Mr. Adams's showing, that much of their hesitation was inherent in the political situation, and was common to them with the whole country. When Mr. Adams says that "one question alone was to be decided"—to wit, whether the Administration should seize this moment to break with Napoleon—it still remains to be said that this "one question" had as many heads as the mythologic hydra, and as many coils as the monster octopus. If Jefferson, argues Mr. Adams, had crossed the Sabine in August, 1805, and had occupied Texas to the Rio Bravo, as Armstrong, our Minister to France, and Monroe, our Minister to England, united in advising, and if then Spain had gone to war with us, and had dragged France in her train, all the difficulties of Jefferson "would have vanished in an instant." He might then have seized Florida, adds Mr. Adams, while his controversies with England would have fallen to the ground, for England would then have been his ally; and had this state of war continued for two years, till Spain threw off the yoke of Napoleon and once more raised in Europe the standard of popular liberty, "Jefferson might perhaps have effected some agreement with the Spanish patriots, and would then have stood at the head of the coming popular movement throughout the world." It is easy to write history as a prophecy of the past, but it is not so clear that the chain of events in Europe would have been the same if the links of the chain on this side of the Atlantic had been broken at the points indicated by Mr. Adams.

From this time forth, as Turreau, the French Minister at Washington, acutely phrased it, "to conquer without war" became "the first fact in American politics." The necessities of the political situation conspired with Jefferson's instinctive and philosophical love of peace to turn him away from all affirmative or aggressive measures. And now, too, it was that Spanish cruisers began to prey on American property, that France grew more and more arrogant in defence of her Spanish ally, and that England exasperated even the mercantile community, in spite of their timidity, by setting up a virtual blockade of our ports, under the pretence of watching for the recovery of British "deserters," alleged to be commonly employed in our merchant service. Mr. Adams here sees very clearly that the tameness with which our country submitted to the arbitrary pretensions of England was not entirely the result of cowardice, but was a sort of Hobson's choice supported by a comparison of expediencies. "Nations," he truly says, "rarely submit to injury without a motive." It was seen that "if the United States Government went to war to protect British seamen [enlisted in our service] America would lose all her mercantile marine, and these same seamen for whom she was fighting must, for the most part, necessarily return to their old flag, because they would then have no other employer."

In the winter of 1805-06, what with the violent opposition of the Federalists, the equally violent factiousness of the Republicans who fell away in the gainsaying of John Randolph, and the spirit of aggression which showed itself in simultaneous acts of war from England, France, and Spain, the position of Jefferson, as Mr. Adams admits, was difficult "beyond that of any other American President." And after "the two-million act" had been wrung from a reluctant Congress for the purpose of buying from Spain, at the dictation of France, the territory supposed to be ours (or at least claimed to be ours), under the Louisiana bargain with Napoleon, it was openly charged by embittered political enemies and estranged political friends that the President had become a creature of the French despot. The author shows that this latter charge was manifestly unfounded, and that the unwillingness of the Administration to offend Napoleon arose from no "Gallican sympathies," but from the conviction that Napoleon alone could give Florida to the United States without the expense and losses inevitable in a war. Such a charge, however, after it had once been lodged in the popular mind, could only breed fresh corrosions when subsequent phases of our politics came to lend fresh color to the damaging imputation, without having any better foundation in fact.

As if these international feuds were not enough, domestic treason now came to embarrass the Administration with privy conspiracy under the very eaves of the Executive Mansion; with the menaced revolt of the Western and Southwestern territory; and with filibustering expeditions against the Spanish-American provinces. However singular may have been "the veneered profligacy of Aaron Burr," as Mr. Adams graphically describes it, and however bad may be his eminence among American "conspirators," it is certain that his treasonable plot was no sporadic incident in our annals. It was a "sign of the times" that our political sky grew red and lowering with this portent in 1806, because similar portents had come before to vex our politicians with fear of change. To bring our metaphor down, perhaps too rapidly, from heaven to earth, we may say that Burr's Disunion project was part and parcel of a whole brood of misgrowths begotten in the mud and slime of the early period in our annals. Of such earlier misgrowths as the plottings of the Spanish Associations in Kentucky and Blount's conspiracy in 1796, we may say that they sprang from a chronic political unrest which dated, in Kentucky, from the year 1786, or earlier, when the possession of the Mississippi Valley was put in peril by a league of the Northern States in the Continental Congress. They were constantly nurtured besides by British machinations in Canada as well as by the unwieldiness and the insolence of Spanish misrule at New Orleans—the unwieldiness inviting to aggression, and the insolence provoking to resentment. In the conspiracy of Burr these permanent elements of disorder were accentuated by Federalist discontents in New England, by factional rivalries in New York, by schismatic dissensions in Virginia, under the lead of John Randolph, by the easy optimism of Jefferson himself, who was always slow to put himself on guard against impending mischiefs, and last, but not least, by the disaffection of the Creole population in Louisiana, smarting under a sense of wrong at the despite done them by the Territorial Government imposed from Washington.

That a spirit of [illegible] giddiness and revolt had become rife in [illegible] itics at that juncture is shown by the li[illegible] onnection between Burr's schemes and th[illegible]he old Spanish Associations and politica[illegible]ies of Kentucky, as also by the fact that [illegible]da's expedition worked at cross purpos[illegible] the plans of Burr, because, in springin[illegible]he same buccaneering politics, and in c[illegible]t the same time, it threatened to opera[illegible] diversion from the Spanish part of his p[illegible]ow intricate and yet how continuous wa[illegible]hain of events which at that period com[illegible]d our home politics with foreign entangle[illegible] we may read in the single fact that the [illegible] of 1798 enacted for the maintenance of o[illegible]ntral obligations (being the law under [illegible]en Smith and Ogden were tried for complicity in the Miranda expedition) was a law which had been enacted by Congress while John Adam[illegible] as Vice-President, was President of the United States Senate, and which had been framed for the express purpose of inhibiting the machinations of Genêt. Yet such was the "cursed spite" of that disjointed time that the first person tried under the law was Col. William S. Smith, a son-in-law of John Adams; and the United States Judge who was first called to administer this law was Matthias B. Talmadge, a brother-in-law of Genêt. Foreign embroilments, partly personal and partly political, mix with the woof where they do not make the warp of our politics in those days. Wilkinson, the general-in-chief of the American Army, not only was the confidant and accomplice of Burr's scheme (at least in its earlier stages), but had also been for twenty years a stipendiary of the Spanish Government. Judge Sebastian of the Kentucky Court of Appeals was an annual pensioner of Don Carlos IV. Yrujo, the Spanish Minister at Washington, and son-in-law of Gov. McKean, the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania, meddled so openly with our politics that the scandal became at length unendurable. At a little later date we find the British Government employing a paid agent, one John Henry, to watch and abet the progress of Federalist disaffection in New England.

In order to follow the involutions of Burr's treason, we must clearly seize the fact that what he meant to be a tragedy, but which turned out to be a farce, was in its substance and form a trilogy. His plot comprised three dramas rolled into one. At one stage of his operations and with one set of adherents he intrigued for the expulsion of the Spaniards from North America; at another stage and with another set of adherents he conspired for the severing of the Mississippi Valley from the Atlantic States; while at still another stage and with still another set of adherents he contracted for a plausible scheme of land speculations which offered a lure to the avarice or ambition of his victims. Perhaps it could be wished that Mr. Adams, with all the lucidity he brings to his exposition of this historical episode, had attempted a little sharper definition and clearer characterization of the several classes who were drawn by Burr into some sort of complicity with his projects, according as he unfolded to them, in whole or in part, the interdependence of his several schemes. To some of his partners he doubtless communicated only so much of his plan as implied an attack on the Spanish provinces of North America, to be made so soon as the United States should be embroiled in a war with Spain—an event believed to be then impending. To a chosen set of accomplices, like Dayton and others, he confided the seditious pur-

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pose of his plot in its full proportions; while another set may have supposed, at first, that they were invited to embark on a gigantic scheme of land jobbery and colonization on the Wachita River. Each of these schemes could be used as a stalking-horse behind which to push the one or the other of the projects that seemed, for the time being, to be the least alluring, or which could not be exposed without some danger of startling timid souls and of repelling men who, whatever may have been their military or predatory instincts, were at heart too patriotic to have entered into the conspiracy with full knowledge of its treasonable intent. It is because of the deceptive covers under which Burr worked that so many men among his confederates who *perhaps* were innocent, must rest for ever under a damaging suspicion of guilt.

It is known that he "counted on the aid of Great Britain" as the "pivot" of his whole movement. Without that aid, says Mr. Adams, he could not depend on the co-operation of the Creoles in Louisiana. And when Pitt showed no haste to follow the suggestions of Merry, the British Minister at Washington, Burr refused to wait for the coveted support of England, and precipitated his descent on the lower Mississippi, which, in any event, was the destined base of his operations, whatever their nature or extent might prove in the evolution of his drama. "Had he been wise," says the author, "he would have waited, and perhaps he might in the end have brought the British Government to accept his terms. If Pitt intended to plunder American commerce and to kidnap American citizens, he must be prepared to do more, and Burr might calculate on seeing the British Tories placed by their own acts in a position where they could not afford to neglect his offers." Foiled in his effort to get the sinews of his war from London, he next intrigued, through Dayton, with the Spanish Minister at Washington, in hope of levying blackmail on Spain, and, in his desperation, even conceived a light-headed *coup de main* for the capture and abduction of the whole Administration, with a view to the instant replenishment of his military chest and to the occupation of a coigne of vantage from which he might treat with "the residual fractions" of the United States. The confused state of public opinion which enabled Burr to frame his plots without detection is thus described by Mr. Adams:

"So thick an atmosphere of intrigue, especially in Spanish matters, was supposed to pervade the White House; men's minds were so befogged with public messages about a Spanish war and secret messages about peace; with private encouragement to Miranda and public punishment of Miranda's friends; with John Randolph's furious charges of duplicity, and Madison's helpless silence under these charges—that until the President himself should say the word, Burr, Wilkinson, Dayton, and their associates were safe, and might hatch treason in the face of all the world."

Mr. Adams gives a graphic description of the collapse of Burr's conspiracy, his ignoble flight from the appointed scene of his operations, his arrest on the Spanish frontier above Mobile, his deportation to Richmond, and his trial there on a charge of high treason before Chief-Justice Marshall.

For the failure to compass a conviction of Burr on the indictment found against him, Jefferson, as every one knows, was inclined to lay the blame at the door of the Federalist Chief Justice. He gave publicity to his disappointment and chagrin by formally inviting the Congress to inquire whether this defeat of justice had been caused by a defect "in the evidence, in the law, or in the administration of the law." The sting of this clause was, of course, found in its tail-piece; and the flout was aimed at the Chief Justice in the face of the whole country. The narrative of Mr. Adams can leave the reader in little doubt that the breakdown of the prosecution was due to the incompleteness of the evidence, and this incompleteness was mainly due to the laches of the Administration. Jefferson had taken no prompt steps to hold Burr and his confederates in surveillance while they were "hatching treason," and, therefore, the prosecution was unable to prove the "overt acts," or to combine the nexus of events required to meet the conditions of the law of treason as expounded by Marshall. Mr. Adams shows that there were facts enough to support the charge if only they had been properly arrayed and duly corroborated.

It seems to us, however, that the historian hardly does full justice to the causes which defeated the prosecution of Burr on the occasion of his first arraignment in Kentucky by Daveiss, the United States District Attorney. However true it may be that Judge Innis was suspected of "Spanish sympathies," and however true it may be that some of Daveiss's witnesses "vanished," it was still more disastrous that some of his witnesses turned against him. John Wood, for instance, after thundering so loud in the index, by the pretended revelations he made in the *Western World*, was swift to say under oath that he knew "nothing which would amount to evidence," and even significantly added that he "had changed his opinion respecting Mr. Burr, and was then persuaded that Burr had no intention of doing anything contrary to the laws and interests of the United States." Street, too, the "fighting editor" of the *Western World*, as Mr. Adams describes him, was similarly reticent as a witness. Alike at Frankfort, at the trial in the territory of Mississippi, and in his final assize at Richmond, Burr was fortunate in the character of the witnesses summoned against him by the prosecution. In the last-named ordeal, Gen. Wilkinson, on whom Jefferson mainly depended for the conviction of Burr, was a man whom John Randolph did not scruple to portray as the only person he ever saw who "from the bark to the very core was a villain," and even Hay, the prosecuting attorney, was compelled at last to discredit that thrasonical soldier.

The sequel of Burr's trial brought only fresh mortifications to Jefferson. On the bench of our Supreme Judiciary he had been "thwarted," as he believed, by Marshall. In the House of Representatives he was "baited" by John Randolph for the patronage given to Wilkinson. Before the public he was made "the scapegoat at once of Burr's crimes and of Wilkinson's extravagances," because he was blamed for the long immunity allowed to the former and for the undue complaisance practised towards the latter.

THE DUKE OF COBURG'S MEMOIRS.

Aus meinem Leben und aus meiner Zeit. Von Ernst II., Herzog von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha. Dritter Band. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz; New York: Westermann. 1889. 8vo, pp. 726.

THE Duke of Coburg brings his memoirs to a rather abrupt conclusion in his third volume. The summary manner in which he despatches all the interesting and important events subsequent to 1866 is in striking contrast with the minuteness with which he describes every minor detail previous to that date; and the explanation he gives of this change of method indicates that he had intended, and would have liked to pursue, a different course, but was restrained by the same motives that prompted Talleyrand to postpone the publication of his memoirs to a time when all the prominent personages of his day should have passed from the scene. The newspaper rumors to the effect that Bismarck had objected to the publication of portions of the Duke's manuscript, and that Queen Victoria had similar views in regard to other portions, thus seem to have had some foundation in fact.

The volume opens with a view of the situation of Europe at the end of 1859, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Zurich, which the author pronounces hardly paralleled in modern history, inasmuch as every provision of it was in direct contradiction, not only of accomplished facts, but of the intentions of most of the Powers. Public opinion was at the same time much disturbed by Napoleon's pamphlet, 'The Pope and the Congress,' which was taken as an intimation that the Emperor had further wars in contemplation. It soon became apparent that all he wanted was to prepare the way for the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France, to which Cavour gave his assent on March 2, 1860, and which came near bringing about a rupture between France and England, as is set forth in the despatches of Lord Cowley printed in Sir Theodore Martin's Life of Prince Albert. Germany was at this time in a deplorable situation, being in constant dread of the French autocrat's mania for the rectification of frontiers by annexations to France. Prussia had proposed a revival of the Holy Alliance, but had met with rebuffs from both Russia and Austria. The Duke infers, from private information he received, that in the west of Germany there was sympathy for France, and reports that in some quarters it was even supposed that Prussia itself would not be opposed to making cessions of territory for the sake of peace.

Such fears were in some measure set at rest by an interview between Napoleon and a number of German sovereigns at Baden Baden in June, 1860, at which the Prince Regent of Prussia intimated that Germany was a unit on the question of making no cession of territory, and Napoleon breathed nothing but peace and good-will. The Duke reports an interview he had with the French Emperor, in which the latter complained that he was the victim of universal and unfounded distrust, and said that if he entertained all the warlike projects which were ascribed to him, he must be crazy. In regard to the Italian campaign, he said that he had been luckier than he expected, and had given the Austrian army credit for greater efficiency than it had displayed; that its campaign had miscarried through a lack of energy, and through a reluctance of the various commanders to assume any responsibility. The total impression which the interview made on the Duke was that Napoleon was sincerely desirous of peace for the time being, and had not full confidence in the ability of France to cope with a European coalition. After Napoleon's departure, the German princes held a conference, which, however, led to no practical results.

The Duke devotes several chapters to *Schützen-Feste*, *Sänger-Feste*, *Turn-Feste*, and other truly Teutonic mass-meetings which filled the air with inflated patriotic utterances that are empty enough in themselves, but, in view of the subsequent march of events, seem almost ludicrous in their childishness. Most of these meetings took place in Coburg or in Gotha, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha being the only German sovereign who entertained or

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had the courage to display any sympathy with the national and popular aspirations of the liberal classes of Germany, and who, as mentioned in our notice of his previous volumes, did not hesitate to hold intercourse with revolutionist refugees in London.

No less out of relation with the present condition of Germany was the Congress of German Sovereigns which assembled at Frankfort, in August, 1863, on the invitation of the Emperor of Austria, for the purpose of considering a reform of the Federal Union. Prussia declined to attend, upon the ground that any projects of the kind should first be considered by the various ministries. This was undoubtedly the first move in the masterly game which has since been played by Bismarck, who had taken the helm only a few months before. William I., who, after being Prince-Regent of Prussia, succeeded to the crown at the death of his brother, on January 2, 1861, would probably never have completely shaken off the hereditary subordination to Austria if he had not been continually braced up to the task by the iron will of his Prime Minister. A most important day in the history of Germany was October 9, 1862, when Bismarck was appointed President of the Ministry and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Austria was then in the ascendant, and her ascendancy was only enhanced by the Congress of Frankfort. How little any one, even in the best informed and highest circles, dreamt of the subsequent course of history, is shown by an incident related by the Duke. The Queen of England was on a visit at Coburg, in August, 1863. The Emperor of Austria, on his way home from the Frankfort Congress, stopped there and had an interview with the Queen at which, by her request, the Duke was present. After complimenting the Emperor upon the skilful manner in which he had presided over the Congress, the Queen added that, although it was not her affair to concern herself with German politics, she had a personal request at heart, inspired by maternal anxiety for her children. Whatever might be the divergent views of Austria and Prussia concerning political matters, she hoped that, under all circumstances, the Emperor would never allow the position and rights of her dear children in Berlin to be infringed upon. To this same period belongs the inception of the Mexican Empire, which was designed by Napoleon to serve the double purpose of reflecting glory on the French arms and securing the friendship of the house of Hapsburg. It appears, however, that Napoleon himself was not as sanguine about the success of the undertaking as was the Empress Eugénie; for the Duke mentions that when he was in Paris in March, 1864, the Emperor took him aside, and, referring to Maximilian, said: "It is a very bad business; in his place I would never have accepted" (meaning the Mexican crown).

A considerable portion of the volume is devoted to the Schleswig-Holstein transactions, and throws new light on the devious ways of Bismarck in his conduct of the most arbitrary and ruthless undertaking of his public career. The Duke of Coburg was intimately mixed up in this affair, being the first to recognize the Duke of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein; the latter was a resident of Gotha, and took into his service as ministers two of the ministers of the Duke of Coburg, who gave them an indefinite leave of absence for that purpose.

By the Treaty of London of 1852, it had been agreed by all the Powers that, on the death of the King of Denmark, Prince Christian should succeed to the monarchy, including the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The Duke of Augustenburg, for a money consideration, signed away his claims to the duchies, which, indeed, he had no means of enforcing. In accordance with this agreement, Christian IX. was proclaimed King of Denmark on the death of Frederick VII. on November 15, 1863. On the following day, Duke Frederick VIII. of Augustenburg proclaimed himself Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, under the claim that his father had no right to sign away the son's birthright, and that he had not himself been a party to the transaction of 1852. Holstein being a member of the German confederacy, the Danish Ambassador appeared at the session of the Diet on November 21 to announce the accession of Christian IX., while the Envoy of Baden appeared as the representative of Frederick VIII., both claiming to be admitted as delegates. A motion was made to exclude the Danish Envoy, but Austria and Prussia opposed it on the ground of being bound by the Treaty of 1852. The motion, however, prevailed, and for the first time in the history of Germany the two leading States were outvoted by the remaining ones. It was a peculiarity of the situation that the German Confederacy as a body had not signed the Treaty of 1852, although several of its members had done so. In December, troops of the German Confederacy entered Holstein, which was at once evacuated by the Danes. A motion made by Austria and Prussia that Schleswig should also be occupied by German troops was voted down, whereupon these two Powers declared that they would take the matter into their own hands, and thus practically disrupted the Confederation. A motion made by Austria that the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein be ordered out of the dominions he claimed, had also been defeated. Before the final rupture Prussia and Austria had agreed to act in unison on the basis of the Treaty of 1852, and to recognize no other consideration. On January 16, 1864, these two Powers made a demand on the Government of Copenhagen for an abrogation of the Danish Constitution of November 18, in so far as it affected Schleswig-Holstein, to whom certain rights had been guaranteed by the London Treaty. This move was followed by an invasion of Holstein by an Austrian-Prussian army, before whom the German troops retired as from an enemy. Actual hostilities began February 1. The contest was too unequal to admit of any doubt as to its results, and the defeat of Denmark was a foregone conclusion.

In April, 1864, a conference assembled in London to attempt a solution of the quarrel. On May 15, Prussia formally repudiated the London Treaty, although up to that date the treaty had furnished the only pretext for the invasion of Denmark. At the London conference Bismarck now represented, contrary to everything that had gone before, that Prussia was only holding Holstein in trust for the rightful heir, the Duke of Augustenburg. However, the conference broke up on June 25, without achieving anything. In the meantime Prussia had been negotiating with Russia in regard to the claims of the house of Oldenburg to the Danish duchies. Finally, on August 1, Denmark ceded all of its claims to the duchies to Austria and Prussia without reserve. The troops of the German Confederacy, which were still in the conquered duchies, were ordered by Prussia to evacuate the territory.

In December, Austria proposed to cede the duchies to Duke Frederick, but Prussia refused. In February, 1865, Prussia offered to agree to the cession on condition that the army and navy of the duchies should be under the command of the King of Prussia, and that the post-office and telegraph should also be under the Prussian control, together with some minor concessions which would, in themselves, not have offered much of an object. This offer was rejected by Austria, and the Duke of Coburg is of the opinion that before making it Bismarck had assured himself of its rejection by sounding the opinions of leading Austrian statesmen. He was thus quite safe to make a comparatively moderate proposition, the acceptance of which would have seriously interfered with the elaborate scheme he had concocted, and which was crowned with success by the Gastein Convention, dividing Schleswig and Holstein between Austria and Prussia. After a review of this point, Bismarck was not at a loss for pretexts for a war with Austria for which his previous manœuvres had been only preliminary. The annexation of Holstein to Prussia, with a total disregard of all rights, treaties, and professions, followed as a matter of course.

The part which the Duke of Coburg took in the war of 1866 was but slight. With the hereditary good luck of his family, he happened to be on the right side, and earned the gratitude of Prussia instead of incurring its wrath. He was engaged in the battle of Langensalza on June 27, which resulted in a defeat of the Prussian troops by the Hanoverians, but was nevertheless followed two days later by the capitulation of the King of Hanover and all his army. Perhaps the most valuable service rendered by the Duke was in recommending Gen. Blumenthal to the Crown Prince Frederick William as his chief of staff.

Lack of space compels us to take leave of this book, which, along with much that is of purely German interest, contains a number of characteristic letters of Bismarck and other leading personages, together with a few entertaining anecdotes. Although it perhaps tells us very little that is strictly new, and is rather too long, it presents on the whole a not uninteresting picture of the evolution of the German nation during the past half century, and throws light on subsidiary episodes that are apt to be overlooked in formal histories.

CARDINAL LAVIGERIE AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave Trade. Edited by Richard F. Clarke, S. J. Longmans, Green & Co. 1889. Pp. ix., 379, 8vo.

Documents sur la Fondation de l'Œuvre Anti-esclavagiste. Par S. Em. le cardinal Lavigerie. St. Cloud. 1889. Pp. lix., 715, 8vo.

THE crusade against the African slave trade recently preached by Cardinal Lavigerie throughout Europe was remarkable for this reason: it was, in fact, the Roman Catholic Church pleading with all Christendom, without distinction of belief, to right a foul wrong. For though the act of an individual, yet his rank and the sanction of the Pope gave the Cardinal's mission an almost official character. He was received, moreover, by Protestant England and Germany with such sincere and hearty sympathy for his cause as shows conclusively that now, on occasion, all religious differences among Christians will be forgotten in the common desire to reach a noble end. This marked success of his crusade was largely due to the Cardinal himself, than whom no one could have been found among the Roman priesthood so well fitted, either by his powers as an orator or by his previous career, to present the cause of the oppressed African.

Born in Bayonne in 1825, Charles Martial

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Lavigerie early developed a decided inclination for the Church, and his ability and progress in his studies were so great that he was ordained priest, by special dispensation, before he had reached the canonical age. In 1854 he was appointed to the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the Sorbonne, and two years after Director of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Education in the East. In this capacity he went to Syria in 1860 to distribute the funds which had been collected, chiefly by his means, for the relief of the Christians then suffering from the frightful persecutions of the Druses. It was a service of great difficulty, not unattended with danger, but was performed with such success as to gain for him decorations from the French and Turkish Governments. He was the first French priest to enter Damascus after the massacre in which more than 3,000 adult males alone perished. Of the Christian quarter, which had constituted a distinct town of 2,000 houses and 30,000 inhabitants, he says:

"Their dwellings had been all levelled to the ground, so that not even a shed was left standing. Everything that possessed the slightest value had been carried off; all the woodwork, the hinges of the doors, the very locks and bolts having disappeared. . . . I should have imagined that the city had been visited by an earthquake, for it was impossible to make out even the direction of the streets."

It is not surprising that a man whose first personal contact with Mohammedanism was amid such scenes, and who has passed thirty years in ceaseless conflict with it, should show but scant respect for those theorists, like Canon Taylor, who would see in Islam's conquest of Central Africa simply a preparatory stage in the conversion of the negro to Christianity. At the age of thirty-eight he was made Bishop of Nancy and four years later Archbishop of Algiers, his present post.

Here he soon found himself in direct conflict with the Government, whose timid policy was that of determined opposition to every attempt to Christianize the natives. It even endeavored to prevent ordinary charitable work by the French clergy, such as relieving the sick and starving, and providing homes for the orphans of those who had perished by the cholera and famine in 1867-68. After a long and bitter struggle, the Archbishop secured the privilege of establishing hospitals and orphanages, but not of missions, among the Algerians. When Tunis was occupied by France, he was appointed by the Pope to administer its ecclesiastical affairs. In fulfilling his duties in this delicate position, the majority of the Catholic residents being Italians and opposed to the appointment of a French bishop, he was remarkably successful in harmonizing the various discordant elements. The Italian *Riforma* said that "his presence in Tunis was worth more to his country than that of an army." In 1882 he was created cardinal, an honor which would have been conferred earlier but for the opposition of President MacMahon, who was Governor of Algeria during the first years of his bishopric.

One of the secrets of Cardinal Lavigerie's success appears to be his power of obtaining both money and men to carry out his projects. This was shown especially in the missions which he established in the northern oases of the Sahara and the lake region of Central Africa. Though here his missioners were forestalled by the English, yet both Protestant and Catholic seem to have worked in entire harmony, a fact to which Father Clarke, as well as the English missionaries, bears testimony. No greater proof of the success of the work in Uganda an be given than the history of the persecutions by which it was temporarily checked. The heroism and constancy of the native Christians was fully equal to that of the early martyrs of North Africa, whom a grateful church has canonized. During the height of the persecution the Roman Catholic Bishop confirmed ninety-seven of these savages, being called up four or five times in a single night to administer this rite to men who knew that death on the morrow was the almost certain result of their confession. In the successive revolutions which have recently convulsed this powerful native state, the Christians who escaped death in the persecution were for a time driven from the country. A remarkable incident in Mr. Stanley's "March to the Sea," after his rescue of Emin Pasha, shows what manner of men they were during their exile. "We were quietly camped," he says, in a letter to Dr. Livingstone's son-in-law, "when we were made aware that a body of superior people had arrived. They wore cotton dresses, spotless white, and were just as well clothed as any of the tidiest natives of Zanzibar." These men, each of whom "possessed a Prayer-book and the Gospel of Matthew printed in Kiganda," were a deputation from a body of three thousand of these exiled Christians, who had come to ask Mr. Stanley's aid in their ultimately successful attempt to restore Mwanga to his throne, affirming that he had become a Roman Catholic. This aid was necessarily refused, but the incident made a deep impression upon Mr. Stanley, who pertinently asks at the close of his story, "What can a man wish better for a proof that Christianity is possible in Africa?"

Father Clarke devotes the latter part of his volume to a discussion of the general subject of the African slave trade, without, however, contributing to it anything very new or suggestive. He gives the testimony of eye-witnesses, in one touching case of a slave himself, as to the horrors of this traffic, and then treats briefly of the relations of Mohammedanism to slavery and Christianity. This is followed by a short account of the attempts to suppress the slave trade by Sir Samuel Baker on the Nile, and by other less well-known Englishmen on the Niger. The closing chapter is upon the various schemes for its suppression, which may be summed up as follows: The preventing the exportation of slaves by making it piracy, the prohibition of the importation of arms and ammunition, the overthrow of Moslem supremacy, the commercial development of Central Africa, the planting of stations, and the sending armed expeditions to put the traffic down by force. The latter is Cardinal Lavigerie's own plan.

There are two ways in which force can be used, one of which is in successful operation on the west coast of Lake Tanganyika. Here for several years a Capt. Joubert, a French soldier, has devoted himself to the task of defending a district from the slavers. The missionaries have supplied him with arms, and "he has formed a body of militia consisting of 200 negroes. These native soldiers," says the Cardinal, "would, it is true, not bear comparison with European troops, but they are no longer utterly defenceless, and they are able to strike awe, within a certain radius, into the slave-hunting Métis and their allies the Rugaruga." A hundred like members of the church militant scattered throughout Central Africa would go far towards solving the problem lately before the Brussels Conference.

The other plan is to establish armed posts on the various slave routes to prevent the passage of the raiders. But who shall man these stations? White men cannot undertake the task, though a thousand Frenchmen and Belgians alone have volunteered to do it, without a terrible sacrifice of life. Within thirteen years, of the small band of the White Fathers in Africa, eleven "suffered martyrdom, while more than fifty others have died from fatigue and hardships." The black man can do it with far less danger from the climate, and what nobler work could he desire than this? and why might not some colored Americans take part in it?

The second work at the head of our notice is a collection of documents prepared for the use of the members of the Brussels Conference, and also, we presume, for the anti-slavery committees which have been organized in France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Austria, and Spain through the efforts of the Cardinal. It is prefaced by a letter to the King of Belgium, giving a summary of the facts contained in the documents, which are largely extracts from missionaries' letters, as well as the Cardinal's plan for the enrolment of "a sacred gendarmerie" for service against the slave-hunters in the interior of Africa.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Beach, C. F., jr. The Modern Law of Railways. 2 vols. San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co.
Behrends, Rev. A. J. F. The Philosophy of Preaching. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Blackie, J. S. Essays on Moral and Social Interest. Edinburgh: David Douglas.
Bryant, W. M. The World Energy and its Self-Conservation. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. $1.50.
Century Dictionary, Vol. III. G—L. The Century Co.
First Church of Christ in Quincy, Mass. Boston: Damrell & Upham. $2.50.
Fisher, Prof. G. P. The Nature and Method of Revelation. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Flint, J. H. The Law of Trusts and Trustees. San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co.
Gore, C. Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation. 4th ed. E. & J. B. Young & Co. $5.50.
Why the Solid South? Or, Reconstruction and its Results. Baltimore: R. H. Woodward & Co.
Wilder, M. P. The People I've Smiled With. Cassell & Co. 50 cents.
Wilkins, A. S. Roman Literature. (Primer.) Macmillan & Co. 35 cents.
Wilkinson, H. Legends of Ancient Rome from Livy. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
Wilkinson, S. The Brain of an Army: a Popular Account of the German General Staff. Macmillan & Co. 75 cents.
Williams, M. Reminiscences. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 2 vols. $7.
Woodford, C. M. Naturalist Among the Headhunters. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.75.
Young, L. Simple Elements of Navigation. John Wiley & Sons.

Fine Arts.

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARTISTS.

If an intelligent foreigner—Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" or the writer of the 'Persian Letters'—were now in New York, and wished to form an idea of the artistic culture of this great people, he would probably be taken to visit the exhibition of the National Academy, and would come away from it a sadder if not a wiser man. The error would be excusable—the name alone of the National Academy of Design is imposing, and its comparatively venerable age and its wealth and position would incline our traveller to look there for the art of America—but it would be none the less an error. Any one, foreign or native, who wishes to know what American artists are doing, what are the tendencies and achievements of the young but vigorously growing art of this country, may learn by going, not to the Academy, but to the twelfth exhibition of the Society of American Artists now open at the Fifth Avenue Art Galleries.

There are those who regret this fact, and complain that all this work does not go to the Academy; who vainly appeal to the artists to "concentrate" their efforts, and to make of the Academy exhibition the one strong showing of American art; but the artists will not hearken, and obstinately reserve their best work for the smaller and later show. May it not be

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the fault of the Academy itself if it has failed to retain its place in spite of its many advantages? At any rate, it has failed, and the present exhibition of the Society is not only the best one it has yet held, but is far and away the best exhibition of the year, and, probably, the best exhibition of American art ever held in this country. Among its 206 works by 123 artists, of whom 50 are members of the Society and 73 are outsiders, is to be found, with few exceptions, all that is freshest, and best, and most vigorous in the work of the year, all that shows the point reached by to-day's achievement and the direction of to-morrow's progress.

The result is highly encouraging for the future of art in America. It is an exhibition of a singularly high average of attainment, and of an even more noticeable variety of aim and method. Above all, it is an exhibition of things done, not merely of things attempted. The time is past when the Society could be fairly taxed with showing only sketches, studies, tentative efforts. It shows to-day results accomplished, and works of art in several lines as thoroughly carried out as by the artists of any country in the world. It is true that the "subject picture," the picture of anecdote, is conspicuous by its absence, but this is a healthy sign of artistic life; it is true that there is a certain amount of work by men who are rather feeling for new means of expression than fully expressing themselves by means thoroughly acquired and assimilated, but it is by such effort that progress is made. There is still enough of work which can without exaggeration be called masterly to show that we have artists who know their language and have something to say in it, and to justify the boast that the art of America already ranks second only to the art of France in the world's production. There are pictures which might be placed in any collection, in any part of the world, with an assured confidence that nothing better of the same sort could eclipse their merit.

One member of the Society, who sends seven canvases, is one of the first living masters of direct and brilliant technique; another, cut off in his youth, is represented by a marine which, for strength and delicacy, need fear no comparison; the President is represented by five little pictures, which are altogether delightful in their justness of perception and frankness and skilfulness of execution. Composition and the drawing of the nude figure are perhaps the weakest points of the American school; but here also the present exhibition shows what we have of earnest effort and achievement as it can be seen nowhere else, while in landscape the whole gamut is struck, from sombre tonalism through frank naturalism to the latest experiments in brilliant light of the followers of Monet.

The sudden death, at the age of twenty-nine, of Mr. Robert A. Eichelberger, adds a special and melancholy interest to his picture, No. 73, entitled "Surf and Fog," but its intrinsic merit would suffice to make it one of the leading pictures in this or any collection. Its title tells its story—the surf rolling its sheet of foam to the spectator's feet; while the sun, encircled with orange light, struggles to pierce the dense sea fog; but words cannot convey a sense of the power of drawing in form of wave and foam-sheet, the absolute justness of value and color, the restrained force, coupled with exquisite refinement, of the execution, which make of the picture a work of the highest merit and the most interesting marine we remember ever to have seen. No one can have known until this picture was shown what a loss the art of America had suffered in Mr. Eichelberger's death, or how deeply that sad event was to be deplored. What he had already done had been enough to show that he was an artist of great promise; he was cut off in the very hour of achievement. The Society has done what it could to express its sense of loss by giving his last admirable work one of the places of honor in the large gallery, and by draping the panel it occupies with black, and placing upon it a tablet with the dates of his birth and death.

From this we turn to a very different work, Mr. Sargent's "La Carmencita," No. 153, which hangs at the end of the long gallery, and is, from its position as well as from its character, the most conspicuous picture in the exhibition. Mr. Sargent is of all living painters perhaps the most consummate virtuoso, and this picture is the most astonishing display of his virtuosity that we have seen. It is vain to look to him for thought, profundity, harmonies of tone or line; but Paganini was none the less great because he was not Beethoven, and Sargent is the Paganini of painting. For sheer audacity and brilliancy of execution the picture is a marvel that would evoke the admiration of artists the world over. In a New York gallery to-day is a picture fresh from the easel of an American painter that would have been praised by Hals and bought by Velasquez. Such work is not likely ever to be popular with the great public which knows nothing of the difficulties vanquished, and is only disquieted by the strangeness of the means employed; but for a painter it is the source of one of the keenest pleasures that art can give him, and his brother artists do well to treat Mr. Sargent with the highest consideration. Of Mr. Sargent's six other canvases, the most interesting, as showing him in another mood, is the "Summer Morning," No. 158, in which some of the methods of the impressionists have been most intelligently appropriated, and in which the sense of the sunlight reflected from the water and rippling up the white dress and into the face of a charming young woman is delightful.

The third place of honor in the large gallery is occupied by Mr. Bunker, who, in "The Mirror," No. 23, has far surpassed his former efforts and achieved rare grace and distinction. Varyingly excellent also are the portraits by Messrs. Dewing, Beckwith, Tarbell, Benson, Wiles, and others, and different from any of these, yet equally excellent in its way, is the sober, almost severe, "Portrait of Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer," No. 44, by William A. Coffin.

Mr. Chase is represented only by some of his little canvases this year, but he loses nothing by it, for these are of his very best, which is tantamount to saying that no one else could have done them so well. One in particular, "At Kathleen Villa," No. 37, is a wonderfully lovely bit of light and color and air. Mr. Chase and Mr. Sargent are the two best *painters* of the Society, but their talents differ profoundly in quality. Mr. Sargent is the better draughtsman and the more audacious executant; Mr. Chase has the finer sense of color. Mr. Sargent is apt to conceive his figure *in vacuo*, while the best of Mr. Chase's art is his sense of relation. Another very clever executant is Mr. Wiles, whose studio interior entitled "Discouraged," No. 203, is remarkable for the sense of air and space got by direct *morceau* painting with a crisp brush. Though somewhat mannered and unpleasant in handling, Mr. Thayer's "Portrait of a Lady," No. 173, is charming in character, and Mr. Weir's "Reading," No. 196, has his wonted beauty of quiet tone. The range and variety of style in the work here exhibited could not be more clearly shown than by the contrast between the bright gayety of Mr. Blum's "Ca' d'Oro," No. 13, with its reminiscence of Rico, and the almost solemn sobriety of Horatio Walker's "Canadian Pastoral," No. 191, than which no more beautiful piece of color is often seen.

In the way of serious treatment of the nude, there are fewer things to praise. Mr. Low sends two of his smaller compositions, and Mr. Shirlaw, in his "Psyche," No. 163, is more modern in color than is usual with him, if still mannered in the treatment of form. Mr. Benjamin R. Fitz sends also a small nude figure, "The Reflection," No. 79, well drawn, though with great concision and suppression of detail, and painted with much feeling for breadth of tone. It is one of the good things of the exhibition, and somewhat of a surprise in that it is the first work on such a theme exhibited by him. Mr. Cox, who is always a prominent contributor to the Society exhibitions, and who is as notable as a painter of portraits as of the nude, is represented by three pictures: "An Eclogue," No. 49, "The Birth of Venus," No. 50, and "Diana the Huntress," No. 51. In the last-named two pictures, both small canvases, we find single female figures painted with his usual technical excellence, and in the "Diana" especially, a young and slender woman whose body is lithe and strong, great delicacy of line and modelling. It is, moreover, refined and just in color, and loses nothing—as the "Venus" does to some extent—by its background, which is quite in harmony with the figure and well disposed as to mass. "An Eclogue" is the most ambitious composition which the painter of "Poetry and Painting" and the author of the admirable designs for "The Blessed Damosel" has exhibited. Certainly no reproach of insufficiency or lack of thought can be brought against the picture, and it stands, perhaps, as the completest work in the exhibition. There are four female figures; the group is excellent in the great lines, and the landscape, simply treated, possesses the decorative element which painters of to-day so often seem to find it hard to attain. It is an excellent canvas to cite as proof that the art of *picture-making* is not lost sight of by some of our figure-painters, in these days when so much praise is given to the more dashing successes obtained by striving not for all, but only for one or two of the many things in the wide range of the painter's art.

In landscape-painting there are several distinctly marked and divergent tendencies. Apart from one or two surviving examples of the "brown-tree" period, American landscape painters, as shown at the Society's exhibition, may be divided into three schools, the naturalists, the sentimentalists, and the impressionists. At the head of the first of these are Mr. Coffin and Mr. Donoho. Mr. Donoho's "Grouse Cover," No. 64, is a thoroughly manly and straightforward piece of work, firm in drawing and construction, and sufficient in truth of color. It lacks, perhaps, a little in charm and sentiment, but, on the other hand, his second picture, "November," No. 65, with its rising moon, goes as far in the direction of sentiment as is desirable, or as is compatible with his robust personality. Mr. Coffin's "The September Breeze," No. 46, is one of the best of these simply realistic landscapes. In method it is perfectly direct and simple, without affectation or mannerism, and the feeling of a sunny day in late summer is perfectly given. Its color is full and agreeable without being either black and sombre or glitteringly brilliant. It is quite unobtrusive and as simple as good-day, but nevertheless it is perhaps the

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best landscape in these rooms. His other picture, "A Pennsylvania Farm—After the Thunder Shower," No. 45, is marked by the same sincerity of manner, while dealing with a much more difficult and unusual effect. It would be hard to say whether it is better than the other or not; the effort is more ambitious, the success less unquestionable. At any rate, it is one of the notable pictures of the year.

By Mr. Tryon's really charming "Morning in May," No. 182; by Mr. Dearth's three pictures, already too artificial and disappointing to his admirers of two years ago, we pass to the true sentimentalists, whose formula would seem to be: "Forget that the earth is solid; forget that the sun ever shines; never paint anything but moonrise, and ruthlessly sacrifice all drawing, all construction, all solidity, to a certain artificial prettiness of tone." To our mind, the jury has admitted too many of the pictures of this class for the greatest good of the exhibition.

Of the landscape-painters of the third class, the impressionists, it becomes us to speak with a certain reserve. They themselves profess to represent the art of the future. They are as confident that other forms of art are outworn as are the Wagnerites that the music-drama is the only possible form of opera. Claude Monet, their high-priest, is a bold experimenter, an explorer of unknown regions, an analyzer of light who would reproduce the visual image of sunlight by the decomposition of the solar spectrum. We are inclined to think that there were heroes before Agamemnon, and that the art of the past will not necessarily tumble into oblivion because of the discovery that three primary colors, placed side by side, give more of the physical sensation of light than does a bit of pure white paint. Still, original research, in any direction, can only result in good, and we can feel that Monet himself, even in his worst extravagances, is adding to the material of art, and preparing the way for those who shall use his discoveries with a saner judgment. Towards his followers we do not feel bound to the same respect, and think ourselves at liberty to criticise their shortcomings or laud their successes, according as we find them intelligent or the reverse in their application of the new methods.

The best of them all is Theodore Robinson. Mr. Robinson was an intelligent artist before he was an impressionist, and remains an intelligent artist now that impressionism claims him for its own. His "Winter Landscape," No. 151, to which the Webb prize has been awarded by the jury, has great distinction of color, and is a picture much beloved of his brother artists. His "Birdseye View," No. 152, with its clustered cottages seen in steep perspective, is most interesting in drawing, though a trifle flat and chalky in its attempt at color on a high key. Mr. Willard L. Metcalf's five pictures, Nos. 126 to 130, have also many solid qualities, and their use of impressionistic methods is kept well within bounds by a masculine intelligence. In "The Enchanted Hour," No. 93, by Childe Hassam, we see the attempt, by a very clever man, to use the methods of Monet in the production of a picture which in primary quality has much more resemblance to the sentimental English school of art. The result is fascinating at first sight, but wears a trifle thin upon further acquaintance. Finally, in the picture by Henry F. Taylor, No. 172, entitled "Sunlight Study," we have the extremest methods of impressionist technique applied with little knowledge of form or construction, the color hatched and plastered until the sky looks like rose-tinted rough-cast, and the landscape like mustard. For good or for evil, such a movement is interesting, and its extent can only be judged of at the Society Exhibition. We believe that it will prove, in the end, to have been for good. It cannot but tend to enlarge the means at the disposal of our artists for their self-expression, while its extravagances will die out of themselves.

In sculpture the Society shows a "Portrait Bust," No. 86, of much distinction, by Daniel C. French, and a graceful relief, No. 87, by the same artist; a charming bust of a little girl, No. 125, by Philip Martiny, the modeller of the Washington Centennial medal; a number of groups of animals by Edward Kemeys, jr., etc., etc.

We have not mentioned nearly all the fine or interesting things in this most interesting exhibition, but the longest article must some time come to an end, and we can only conclude by advising all those interested in art to go and see for themselves. If they are hopeful of the future of American art, they will see much to confirm their hopes; if they are despairing, they will find much comfort there. The hanging, as is usual in the exhibitions of the Society of American Artists, has been admirably done. May this fact not have something to do with the marked preference which our younger and more vigorous artists have shown for the Society?

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